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The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents

TRAVELS AND EXPLORATIONS OF THE JESUIT MISSIONARIES IN NEW FRANCE

1610-1791

THE ORIGINAL FRENCH, LATIN, AND ITALIAN TEXTS, WITH ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES; ILLUSTRATED BY PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND FACSIMILES

EDITED BY
REUBEN GOLD THWAITES
Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Vol. III

ACADIA: 1611-1616

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PREFACE TO VOL. III

Following is a synopsis of the documents contained in the present volume:

XIII. Biard writes from Amiens (May 26, 1614) to the general of the order, reporting the planting of St. Sauveur mission, the attack by Argall, the captivity of the Jesuit missionaries, and their safe return to France.

XIV. Biard's *Relation* of 1616 opens with an historical sketch of French discoveries in New France. The climate of the country, its forests, and its inhabitants, are described; the writer discourses on the mode of life among the savages, their dwellings, tribal organization, polity, women, marriage, medicine, practices of witchcraft, burials, etc. As a basis for missionary work, he advocates the establishment of a colony which shall be properly supported in France, and to this end appeals to the sympathies of Catholics at home. Much space is devoted to answering the attacks on the Jesuit missions of New France, made by an anonymous pamphleteer, who has been supposed to be Lescarbot himself. Continuing with a report of his own movements, Biard describes the voyage made by himself and Biencourt as far as the Kennebec River, and the privations and hardships of the colony during the ensuing winter (1611–12). He again recounts the manner in which Mme. de Guercheville

obtained a grant of New France, and sent a colony to St. Sauveur, on Mt. Desert Island; the disputes between Biencourt and the Jesuits; the stay of Massé among the savages on St. John River; his own trip to Chignectou, with Biencourt; and the hardships endured by both, as also those of the entire colony, during the winter of 1612–13. The Jesuits, during this winter, build a boat, and are thus enabled to go fishing. La Saussaye arrives at Port Royal under Mme. de Guercheville's auspices, and takes the Jesuits away with him to St. Sauveur. The settlement there is well begun, when Argall comes upon it, and takes the French captive. Owing to the great length of this *Relation*, we have space in the present volume but for the first twenty-five chapters; the remaining twelve will form the opening part of Volume IV.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WIS., November, 1896.

XIII

BIARD'S EPISTOLA

ad Reverendissimum Patrem Claudium Aquavivam

(26 Maii, 1614)

SOURCE: We follow Father Martin's apograph (in the Archives of St. Mary's College, at Montreal) of the original Latin MS. in the Archives of the Gesù, at Rome.

Epistola Patris Petri Biardi ad Reverendissimum Patrem Claudium Aquavivam, Præpositum Generalem Societatis Jesu, Romæ. (26 Maii, 1614.)



(Transcripsit Pater Felix Martinus ex codice Latino qui Romae in Archivis Jesu conservatur.)

ADMODUM REVERENDE IN CHRISTO PATER,
Pax Christi.

Et affectus et debitum cogunt ut ego nunc recens et multis maximisque periculis summo Dei beneficio et vestræ Paternitatis precibus ereptus, eam salutem et quoad possum ejus genibus provolutus amplectar; grato certe ao [animo] ac magno spiritu. Etenim velut aspicere me debeo ad pœnitentiam, ut spero, agendam et gratias exhibendas; tanti sunt ii casus e quibus me nunc liberatum admiror. Sed quoniam nunc forte [2] importunum foret longam rerum o͡ium [omnium] historiam texere et credibile est Vestram Paternitatem multa jam ex P. Enemundo Massæo inaudivisse; omissis aliis hoc nunc solum explicabo, quonam modo post nostram ab Anglis in Nova Francia oppressionem, circumducti simus variis locis ac tandem huc in patriam restituti.

Eramus ut Vestra Paternitas scit in Nova Francia quatuor [3] omnino e societate, anno superiore 1613.

Letter of Father Pierre Biard, to the Very Reverend Father Claude Aquaviva, General of the Society of Jesus, at Rome. (May 26, 1614.)

(Copied by Father Felix Martin, from the original Latin preserved in the Archives of the Gesù at Rome.)

VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST,

The peace of Christ be with you.

Both affection and duty urge me, fresh from such multiplied and mighty perils, from which I have been rescued by the surpassing favor of the Lord and by the prayers of your Paternity, to send you my greetings; and, in so far as it is possible, I throw myself at your knees and embrace you, assuredly with the utmost gratitude and devotion. And, indeed, I am bound, as it were, to contemplate myself, both to do penance, as I hope, and to express my gratitude; so great are the perils out of which I now marvel to see myself delivered. But, as it may at this time [2] be wearisome to weave a long story of all these things, and as it is probable that Your Paternity has already learned many of them from Father Enemond Massé, I shall pass over all the rest, and confine myself for the present to this one matter: in what manner, after our violent capture by the English in New France, we were taken from place to place, and at last restored to this our native land.

There were, as Your Paternity knows, only four [3] of our society in New France in the last year,

Et quidem tunc primum incipiebamus novam moliri commodo loco habitationem, novam coloniam &c. Ecce subito nescio quo casu (casus certe fuit non consilium) injecti nostrum in littus Angli Virginenses, magno furore navem nostram invadunt, o͡ibus [omnibus] prope defensoribus in terra occupatis. Pugnatum tamen est aliquandiu, sed necessario facta est non multo post deditio. In certamine duo e gallis occisi, quatuor vulnerati et insuper frater noster Gilbertus Duthet, vulneratus [4] ad mortem fuit. Is postridie inter manus meas religiose expiravit.

Capta navi et rebus o͡ibus [omnibus] direptis; multum nobis fuit, nobis inquam sacerdotibus et jesuitis, non occidi. Verum et hoc ipsum non occidi, si solum fuisset, omni nace [*sc.* nece] atrocius erat. Nam quid sane ageremus in locis omnino desertis et incultis rerum omnium nudi et egentes? Sylvatici quidem ad nos clam et de nocte ventitabant, infortunium nostrum complorabant, quæ poterant pollicebantur et magno certe animo et fideli. [5] Verum ea erat locorum rerumque conditio ut nusquam nisi mors, aut calamitosior morte miseria occurreret. Et eramus omnino triginta in his angustiis. Una res molliores reddebat Anglos, quod videlicet una e nostris scapha ipsis nequicquam obversantibus evaserat; hanc quia foro [*sc.* fore] testem nostræ oppressionis non dubitabant, vitæ nostræ parcere cogebantur. Timebant enim talionem et regem nostrum. Ergo tandem (magnum scilicet beneficium) nobis triginta qui supereramus

1613. Then, too, we first began to build in a convenient place a new settlement, a new colony, etc. But most unexpectedly, by some hazard or other (for a hazard it certainly was, and not a premeditated plan), some English from Virginia were driven upon our shores, who attacked our ship with the utmost fury, at a time when nearly all its defenders were occupied on land. Resistance was nevertheless made for a time, but we were soon obliged to surrender. In the struggle, two of the French were killed, four were wounded; and, in addition, our brother Gilbert Duthet received [4] a mortal wound. He made a most Christian end, the following day, under my ministration.

Our ship having been captured and everything pillaged, it was a great concession to us,—that is, to us priests and jesuits,—that we were not killed. And yet this sparing of our lives, if considered in itself only, would have been worse than any death. For what were we to do in an absolutely desert and barren region, despoiled and destitute of everything? The Savages, indeed, used to come to us stealthily and by night; and, with great generosity and devotion, commiserated our misfortune, and promised us whatever they could. [5] Truly the condition of things was such that either death itself, or a more calamitous misfortune, everywhere threatened us. There were in all thirty of us, in these distressing circumstances. One consideration rendered the English less severe, namely, that one of our boats had escaped, in spite of their watchfulness; and, as they had no doubt that it would bear witness to the violence done us, they were obliged to spare our lives, for they feared reprisals and dreaded our king.

unam aiunt [6] sese velle scapham relinquere quo per eam circumeamus oram maritimam si quam forte navem gallicam reperiamus quæ nos in patriam revehat. Demonstratum est in eam scapham plures quam quindecim ingredi non posse. Verum aliud nihil obtineri potuit, nec de nostris quidem navigiis. Ne morere [*sc.* morer] in hac difficultate sibi quisque ut potuit consuluit: P. Enemundus Massæus in eam quam dixi scapham ingressus est cum aliis quatuordecim; eique favit Deus uti jam Vestra Paternitas cognovit. [7] Ego ducem anglum adii obtinuique pro me et P. Jacobo Quentino socio meo, itemque pro Joanne Dixon qui admissus erat in societatem et servo item uno ut deveheremur ad insulas vicinas in quibus Angli piscari solent, inibique ut Angli [s] illis piscatoribus commendaremur. Quo per eos in Angliam delati inde, quod facile est, in Galliam rediremus. Obtinui hoc quidem inquam verbis, sed verbis fides non fuit. Nos enim una cum reliquis gallis qui restabamus in universum quindecim detulerunt [8] ipsi recta in suam Virginiam longe ab eo loco in quo capti fueramus leucis facile ducentis quinquaginta. At in Virginia novum periculum. Etenim qui ibi præest suspendi nos omnes volebat, sed in primis jesuitas. Sed restitit is qui nos ceperat capitaneus, fidemque datam opposuit. Et valuit tandem vel fides vel regis timor.

His peractis, datum est negotium ei capitaneo qui nos ceperat, ut rediret in eam Novæ Franciæ partem

Therefore they finally offered (a great favor, forsooth) to leave for our thirty survivors [6] a single boat, in which we might coast along the seashore, on the chance of finding some french vessel to take us back to our own country. It was shown that this boat could not hold over fifteen men; but nothing further could be obtained, even from among our own boats. To be brief: in this perplexity each of us took counsel as he could; Father Enemond Massé embarked with fourteen companions in the boat I have mentioned, and the Lord favored him, as Your Paternity has already learned. [7] I went to the english captain and obtained a promise from him that I and Father Jacques Quentin, my companion, and also John Dixon — who had been admitted into the society — and one servant, should be transported to the neighboring islands where the English usually fish, and that we should there be recommended to these English fishermen; so that, having been carried by them to England, we might easily return thence into France. I obtained, as I say, a promise to this effect, but there was no good faith in this promise. For they carried us off, together with the frenchmen who remained, fifteen in all, [8] straight to their own country, Virginia, distant from the place in which we had been captured at least two hundred and fifty leagues. In Virginia, however, a new peril arose; for the governor there wished to hang us all, and especially the jesuits. But the captain who had taken us resisted, alleging his promise to us. Finally this promise, or their fear of our king, prevailed.

After this episode, the captain who had taken us was commissioned to return to that part of New France where he had plundered us, and to plunder

ubi nos spoliaverat, ibique quotquot reperiret naves francicas diriperet et omnes habitationes domosque incenderet. [9] Restabant enim ibi duæ Gallorum habitationes, una Sanctæ Crucis et altera Portus-regalis ubi per biennium manseram. Hanc in expeditionem tres naves instructæ sunt, duæ quas nobis ceperant, et tertia illa major et bellica, ut appellant, quæ nos ceperat. Ita accepti sumus in has naves octo solum Galli si qua forte opportunitas daretur emittendi nos in patriam. Hæ naves redierunt primum in eum locum ubi capti fueramus crucesque quas statueramus dejecerunt omnes. Sed ecce vindictam. Ibidem [10] antequam discederamus unum e suis suspenderunt quem machinatum esse nescio quid deprehenderant. Crux pro crucibus fuit.

Hic quoque iterum nobis periculum. Volebant ire Angli, ut ante dictum est, ad habitationem Sanctæ Crucis, etsi in ea nulli tunc habitatores essent. Sed erat sal ibi relictum. Nemo præter me viam sciebat; atque ibi me aliquando fuisse Angli norant. Rogant igitur ut eos deducam. Ego qua possum tergiversari et evadere; sed [11] nihil proficio. Vident aperte me nolle. Hic nimirum incenditur capitaneus, et eram jam periculo propior; cum subito sine me ipsi locum reperiunt, diripiunt et incendunt. Quin etiam per eam occasionem sylvaticum quemdam comprehenderunt, cujus ductu ad Portum regalem perducti sunt. Quæ me res periculo majore cum exemerit, aliunde tamen induxit in majus. Namque direpto et

any French ships he might find, and burn all the houses and settlements. [9] There remained two French settlements there, that of Sainte Croix and that of Port Royal, where I had remained for two years. Three ships were equipped for this expedition,—two which they had taken from us, and a third and larger one, the man-of-war, as they call it, which had taken us. So eight of us Frenchmen were taken in this vessel, in view of any opportunity that might arise of sending us back to our own country. These vessels returned first to the place where we had been captured, and all the crosses that we had set up they overthrew. But not unavenged! On the same spot, [10] before our departure, they hanged one of their number whom they had apprehended in some plot. Thus one Cross took the place of many.

Here a new peril arose. The English, as I have previously stated, wished to go to the settlement of Sainte Croix, although it had at this time no inhabitants. Some salt, however, had been left there. No one except myself knew the way; and the English knew that I had been there formerly. They accordingly demand that I lead them. I do all I can to evade and refuse this proposal; but [11] it avails me nothing. They perceive clearly that I am unwilling to obey. At this the captain grows very angry, and my peril becomes imminent; when suddenly they find the place, without my help, and plunder and burn it. They, moreover, on this occasion captured a savage, who guided them to Port Royal. Although this had delivered me from one great danger, it nevertheless involved me in another greater one. For after they had plundered and burnt Port Royal (which

incenso Portu regali (quem nescio quo casu destitutum a suis repererunt) ecce nescio quis Gallus ex ipsis qui portum [12] illum regalem deseruerant, accusationem mittit adversum me; Me videlicet germanum ac naturalem Hispanum esse atque adeo ob scelera quædam in Gallia commissa, eo redire non audere. Hic capitaneus jam infensus, nimirum dato iracundiæ colore, proponit suis ecquid sentiant. Æquumne videatur me in littus ejicere ibique deserere? Valuit plurium opinio satius esse reducere me in Virginiam, atque ibi me infelici arbori, quam evaseram ex æquo et legibus, redonare. [13] Sic tunc evasi; sicque paulo post ad iter in Virginiam regressi sumus. Sed ecce biduo post tam sæva tempestas accidit, ut distractis navibus alii quid aliis acciderit nesciamus. Nostræ navis capitaneus postquam per tres ipse hebdomadas tempestatem sustinuit, jamque sibi plurima sed aquam maxime deesse vidit, nec esse spem Virginiæ diu repetendæ; consilium cepit refugiendi ad insulas portugalensium quas terceras appellant. Hoc capto consilio ego qui parato suspendio exemptus videbar rursum incido in majus discrimen ac vere majus, quandoquidem socios hic habebam discriminis. Angli sedecim cum ad insulas [14] illas appropinquarent cogitare cæperunt actum esse de se si nos sacerdotes et jesuitæ appareremus. Illico etenim a catholicis Lusitaniæ viris nos in libertatem vindicaremur. Ipsi contra veluti piratæ ac vexatores ecclesiasticorum pœnas darent. Angebat

by some inexplicable chance they had found abandoned by its inhabitants), some Frenchman, one of those very men who had deserted port [12] royal, brought an accusation against me, which was nothing less than this: that I was a genuine, native Spaniard; and that, on account of certain crimes committed in France, I dared not return there. Hereupon, the captain, already incensed against me, having found a fine pretext for his wrath, asked his followers whether they did not think it would be just to cast me forth on the shore and abandon me there. The opinion of the majority prevailed, who thought it better to take me back to Virginia, and there to return me to that unlucky tree which, in accordance with law and justice, I had escaped. [13] Thus I escaped death for the moment: and so we soon after started on our return voyage to Virginia. But, two days later, so fearful a tempest arose that the ships were separated, and none of us knew what became of the others. The captain of our ship, after he had endured the storm for three weeks, and had begun to run short of various necessaries, particularly of fresh water, concluding that there was no hope of getting back to Virginia for a long time, decided to run to the portuguese islands called terceras [Azores]. Through this decision I, who appeared to have escaped from the death by hanging that awaited me, again found myself in a greater peril; greater I may truly call it, since I had here companions in my danger. The sixteen Englishmen, on approaching [14] these islands, began to reflect that they were lost if we priests and jesuits appeared; for we would be set at liberty on the instant by these Portuguese catholics, and they, on the contrary, would be punished as pirates and persecutors of priests. This anxiety

eos hæc cura. Sed quid agerent? Nos ne darent in præceps? An occulere nos sufficeret? In hoc æstu et dubitatione vocat me capitaneus, remque proponit. Dico ei, mihi gravius malum non esse mortem quam esse aliis occasionem [15] mali. Si placeat ei nos occulere polliceor ei me latebras bona fide adjuturum. Quid immisit Deus in ejus mentem ut mihi crederet? Nescio certe; hoc scio quod si prævidisset pericula in quæ post incidit, non credidisset. Ergo occuluit nos in fundo navis: tribus hebdomadis solem non vidimus; sed ei tot difficultates in portu insulæ Faal inciderunt et toties visitata fuit trium hebdomadarum tempore navis, ut mirum sit quomodo non simus deprehensi. Sed hoc quoque providit Deus ad majorem laudam [*sc.* laudem] Societatis: manifeste namque Angli [16] ipsi viderunt quod si nos aperire ipsosque detegere voluissemus, in nostra id sæpe manu fuisset. Ipsi met postea sæpe ac coram ministris nostram fidem collaudarunt in Anglia ipsis admirantibus inimicis veritatis. His defuncti periculis, Angli constituerunt in Angliam redire potius quam in Virginiam quæ tanto distabat longius et ad quam repetendam deerant necessaria omnia. Ita in Angliam tetendimus. Longa fuit navigatio et varia: tandem caligine ac nubibus decepti recto [17] cursu decidimus inque Walliam non longe ab Hybernia delati sumus. In Wallia capitaneus noster cum ad urbem Pembrochium excendisset victus petendi causa ad certa quædam indicia velut pirata captus est ac detentus. Ille enim

troubled them. But what were they to do? Should they throw us overboard, or would it suffice to conceal us? In this embarrassment and uncertainty, the captain sent for me, and laid the matter before me. I said to him that death itself was not a greater evil, in my estimation, than to be the occasion [15] of misfortune to others. I promised, in case he chose to conceal us, that I would lend myself to this scheme in good faith. With what idea did God inspire him, to make him believe me? I know not, truly; but this I do know — that, if he had foreseen the dangers into which he subsequently fell, he would not have trusted me. Accordingly he hid us in the hold of the vessel; during three weeks we did not behold the sun; but the captain encountered so many difficulties in the port of the island Faal, and the vessel was visited so frequently during this space of three weeks, that it seems marvelous that we escaped detection. But this also God purposed for the greater glory of the Society; for the English [16] clearly saw that if we had wished to show ourselves, and to expose them, it would frequently have been in our power to do so. They themselves afterwards, when in England, often eulogized our good faith in the presence of their ministers, and to the admiration even of the enemies of the truth. Escaping from these perils, our captors decided to return to England rather than to Virginia, which was so much farther distant, and which was to be reached only by a long voyage, for which they lacked all the necessaries. Accordingly we set sail for England. Our voyage was a long one, and was marked by many vicissitudes: finally, losing our bearings in the fog and the cloudy weather [17] we deviated from the right course

vero ut se liberaret negat se piratam; argumentumque innocentiæ suæ profert Jesuitas duos quos in navi haberet, quosque si placeat accersere ex ipsis cognosci posse veritatem. O artificium divinæ Providentiæ! Erat tunc hyems adulta, et omnia in navi deerant. Ideoque nisi nobis provisum fuisset et frigore ac malis peribamus. Quid multa? [18] Extemplo accersuntur Jesuitæ et in urbem mirantibus omnibus deducuntur. Jubemur pro testimonio dicere. Nos enim vero quæ vera erant proferimus, capitaneum scilicet nostrum officiarium esse regium non piratam, et quæ in nos fecisset parendi necessitate magis quam voluntate fecisse: Ita capitaneus noster liberatus est et nos cum ipso in urbe usquedum Londino responsum acciperetur perhumaniter retenti sumus. Diu expectatum est responsum, at nos interea sæpe cum ministris sæpius cum aliis disputavimus: licebat enim fere [19] omnibus adire nos; etsi nobis exire domo non licebat. Verum cætera omnia humaniter ut dixi tribuebant. Pembrochio denique jubemur Londinum navigare. Sed iter fuit longum. Otiosissimæque intercesserunt moræ quas ne usque percenseam hoc sufficiat dicere, anglici regis jussu nos ab itinere abductos esse ad urbem Dueram atque inde Caletum in Galliam missos. Caleti liberaliter accepti sumus a domino Gubernatore et decano urbis ac per tres dies recreati; hinc venimus Ambianium ubi nunc sumus.

Tenuit nos captivitas nostra [20] per novem menses

and were carried to Wales, not far from Ireland. In Wales our captain, having landed near the town of Pembroke to lay in provisions, was seized and detained as a pirate, because of certain appearances pointing that way. He, however, to recover his liberty, denied being a pirate; and, as a proof of his innocence, he adduced the fact that he had in his vessel two Jesuits from whose own lips they could learn the truth, if they pleased to summon them. Oh skillful hand of divine Providence! Winter was then fully upon us, and in the ship we were in want of everything. Thus, had we not been provided for, we should have died of cold and hardships. But what need of a long story? [18] The Jesuits are at once summoned, and, gazed at by all, are led into the town. We are ordered to give our evidence. We, of course, attest what was perfectly true,— that our captain was a royal officer and not a pirate, and that what he had done to us had been done in obedience to orders, rather than from his own free will. Accordingly, our captain was set at liberty; and in company with him we were detained in the town, and very well used, while awaiting orders from London. These were long delayed; and in the interval we frequently engaged in arguments with the ministers, and more frequently still with others,— for nearly every one was permitted [19] to have access to us, although we were not allowed to go out. In every other respect, as I have said, we were very kindly treated. Finally we received orders to sail from Pembroke to London. But the voyage proved a long one. Protracted delays intervened; to avoid a long enumeration of these, let it suffice to say that by order of the english king we were landed at

et dimidium. Semper in navi, nisi cum, uti dixi, excendimus ad Pembrochium. Tres menses fuimus: cum nobis in die non darentur nisi circiter unciæ duæ panis et non multum salsi piscis et aqua fere semper fœtida; ideoque miramur quomodo in morbum non inciderimus. Quod pauci Anglorum evadere potuerunt, imo ejusdem etiam aliquot mortui sunt. Sed nimirum Deus nos custodivit placatus Vestræ Paternitatis ac totius Societatis precibus; faxit ipse pro sua bonitate ut id cedat ad majorem ipsius gloriam emendationemque morum meorum ac salutem. Hoc spero per preces ac [21] benedictionem Vestræ Paternitatis quam humillime et quanto affectu possum nixus genibus flagito. Dmūs [Dominus] Jesus Vestram Paternitatem custodiat semper et Sanctissimis suis gratiis augeat, Pater optime et suavissime.

Vestræ Paternitatis
filius obediens ac servus indignus
PETRUS BIARD

Ambiani, 26 Maii, 1614.

Dover, and thence sent to Calais in France. At Calais we were hospitably received by the Governor and the dean of the city, and rested three days; thence we came to Amiens, where we now are.

We remained in captivity [20] during nine months and a half. We were in the ship all the time, except when we landed at Pembroke, as related. There were three months during which we daily received only about two ounces of bread, and a small quantity of salt fish, with water that was nearly always fetid; so that we marvel at not having fallen sick. Few of the English escaped illness, and some of them even died as the result. But God doubtless watched over us in answer to the prayers of Your Paternity and of all our Society; may he grant in his goodness that it result to his own greater glory and in my salvation and better life. This I hope for, through the prayers and [21] the blessing of Your Paternity, which, with all possible humility and affection, I solicit on my knees. May the Lord Jesus ever watch over Your Paternity and may our Father with utmost goodness and favor increasingly bestow upon you his Most Holy grace.

Your Paternity's
obedient son and unworthy servant,
PIERRE BIARD.

Amiens, May 26, 1614.

XIV

Biard's Relation de la Nouvelle France

LYONS: LOUIS MUGUET, 1616

SOURCE: Text is reprinted from the original, in Lenox Library; Title-page is photographic facsimile of original, in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

PECULIARITIES OF ORIGINAL: The text only, is paged. P. 191 is wrongly numbered, 181; p. 256 to the last page (340), are wrongly numbered, 263 to 338. Chap. xi. is wrongly numbered xii.; succeeding chapters are consecutively numbered therefrom, xiii., xiv., etc., except that Chap. xix. in this arrangement, is wrongly numbered xxi.; but this transposition of letters has not affected the numbering of subsequent chapters.

Chaps. i.-xxv. (correct numbering) are given in the present volume; the rest of this document will appear in Volume IV.

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RELATION
DE LA
NOVVELLE
FRANCE, DE SES
TERRES, NATVREL DV
Païs, & de ſes Habitans,

ITEM,

Du voyage des Peres Ieſuites aux dites contrées, & de ce qu'ils y ont faict iuſques à leur priſe par les Anglois.

FAICTE

Par le P. PIERRE BIARD, Grenoblois de la Compagnie de IESVS.

Domus Dei, Porta Cœli.

A LYON,
Chez LOVYS MVGVET, en ruë Merciere.

M. DCXVI.
Auec Priuilege du Roy.

RELATION
OF
NEW FRANCE,
OF ITS LANDS,
NATURE OF THE COUNTRY,
and of its Inhabitants,

ALSO,

Of the voyage of the Jesuit Fathers to said country, and of their work there up to the time of their capture by the English.

WRITTEN

By Father PIERRE BIARD, of Grenoble, of the Society of JESUS.

LYONS,
LOVYS MVGVET,
ruë Merciere.

1616.
By Royal License.

[iii] Av Roy.

SIRE,

Si ie preſente à voſtre Majeſté ces Diſcours de voſtre nouuelle France, la deſcription du païs, & le recit des mœurs, & façons de faire eſtrange, & ſauuage des Canadins: Ie ſuis obligé par toutes ſortes de deuoir à ce faire. Son commandement expres, ioinct à celuy de la Royne voſtre tres-honnorée mere lors Regente, m'y a porté, auec quelques miens Compagnons, plus fauorablement que le vent, & la marée, voſtre liberalité Royale m'y a entretenu quelques années, & ſon authorité puiſſante m'a deliuré des mains de certains Corſaires Anglois, qui ennemis de noſtre ſaincte [iv] *foy (de laquelle nous jettions quelque ſemence en ces Terres Neutes, auec eſperance d'en faire vne moiſſon plantureuſe, ſeul motif de noſtre voyage, & de voſtre iuſsion, SIRE,) nous ont faict quitter la place à noſtre grand regret, & nous ont tenu comme priſonniers quelques moys dans leur vaiſſeau, & preparé cent fois la hart, & la potence pour nous faire perdre la vie: le ſeul reſpect de V. Majeſté les ayant empeſchez d'executer leurs mauuais deſſeings, particulierement ſur ma perſonne, laquelle poſsible la diuine prouidence a voulu reſeruer par l'entremiſe voſtre, pour eſtre commandée derechef de faire voile aux meſmes contrées, & continuer la culture de ce peuple ſauuage. Eſchappé donc de ce danger, & tout mouïllé encores du naufrage ſur le port de voſtre France; i'offre à vos pieds ce peu de cayers, comme vne table de tres-humble recognoiſſance, que ſi i'eſcris, ſi ie vis, c'eſt (apres Dieu) par voſtre moyen, & faueur, SIRE. Et* [v] *ceſte obligation ſignalée m'eſtant touſiours deuant les yeux, fera que ie prieray Dieu continuellement, auec tous*

[iii] To the King.

SIRE,

If I present to your Majesty these Discourses upon your new France, the description of the country, and the account of the manners and strange and barbarous ways of the Canadians, I am bound to do it by every consideration of duty. Your express command, with that of the Queen, your highly esteemed mother, then Regent, carried me and some of my Companions thither more propitiously than wind and tide; your Royal generosity supported me there for some years; and your mighty authority delivered me from the hands of certain English Pirates, enemies of our holy [iv] *faith, (of which we cast some seeds in this New World, with the hope of one day having a plentiful harvest, sole object of our voyage and of your royal command, SIRE,) they compelled us to leave the place, to our great regret, and held us prisoners several months in their ship, and a hundred times prepared the rope and the gallows for our execution; respect for Your Majesty alone having prevented them from carrying out their wicked designs, particularly upon my person, which possibly divine providence has wished to preserve through your agency, to be again ordered to sail away to the same country, and to continue the education of this barbarous people. Delivered now from this danger, and still wet from the shipwreck in the port of your France, I lay at your feet this little book as an evidence of very humble gratitude that, if I am living and writing, it is due (after God) to your help and favor, SIRE. And* [v] *this signal obligation, being always before my eyes, will cause me to pray God con-*

ceux de ma robbe, que V. Majeſté croiſſant d'aage, & de zele puiſſe vn iour arborer l'eſtendart de la Croix auec ſes fleurs de lys Royales, aux terres plus eſcartées des Infideles: tandis que ce grand Roy des Roys luy prepare au Ciel vne couronne tiſſuë d'honneur, & de gloire perpetuelle, que ie vous ſouhaitte, apres auoir porté la voſtre en terre longuement, & heureuſement; de meſme cœur, & affection que ie ſuis, De voſtre Majeſté,

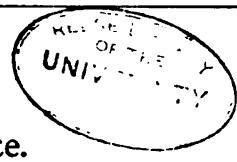
Tres-humble, & tres-obeïſſant
ſubject, & ſeruiteur,
PIERRE BIARD.

tinually, with all those of my order, that, as Your Majesty's years and zeal increase, you may one day plant the standard of the Cross with its Royal fleurs de lys upon the most distant Infidel lands, while the great King of Kings prepares for you in Heaven a crown of honor and of everlasting glory, which I wish for you, after having worn your crown upon earth long and happily, with the same love and devotion from which I am your Majesty's

Very humble and very obedient
subject and servant,
PIERRE BIARD.

[vi] Avant-Propos.

A GRANDE raiſon (amy Lecteur) vn des plus anciẽs Prophetes, nous depeignant myſtiquement ſoubs le ſenſible, & hiſtorial degaſt de la Iudée, les horribles rauages, exterminations, & ruines, que Satan opere, où ſa fureur peut auoir le domaine, a dit emphatiquement; *Au deuant de luy la terre eſt vn Paradis de delices, & derriere luy la ſolitude d'vn deſert.* Car certes, qui iettera ſes yeux ſur tout le vaſte contour de la terre, & y conſiderera les nations illuminées du Soleil de Iuſtice, noſtre Sauueur IESVS-CHRIST, arrouſées de ſon ſang, & precieux Sacrement; nourries de ſa grace & parole; viuifiées, & reſiouyes de ſon [vii] eſprit; cultiuées, & regies de ſes diuins Offices, honnorées de ſon oracle, & preſence réelle; Qui, dy-ie, contemplera cecy, aura grãde occaſion de s'eſcrier, *Qu'au deuant du deſtructeur infernal*, Et, *où il ne peut atteindre; la terre eſt vn Paradis de delices*, ou toutes benedictions, meſmement temporelles, & ſeculiere felicité accompagnẽt les peuples; eſtant planté au milieu d'eux, le vray arbre de vie, noſtre Redempteur Ieſus-Chriſt. Mais au contraire, ſi lon deſtourne la veuë, & que lon regarde derriere ce maudit tyran, Lucifer, & par où il a peu exercer ſes intolerables cruautez, on ne trouuera que deſtructions & ſolitudes, cris & lamentations, que deſolatiõ, & ombre de mort. Ores il n'eſt ja beſoin, que nous ſortions hors de noſtre hemiſphere, pour voir à l'œil, & recognoiſtre [viii] ceſte verité; La Grece, & la Paleſ-



[vi] Preface.

VERY appropriately (dear Reader) one of the earlier Prophets, depicting to us allegorically, under the visible and historical downfall of Judah, the horrible ravages, exterminations, and ruin wrought by Satan, where his fury can have full sway, has said emphatically: *Before him the land is a Garden of pleasure, and behind him a desolate wilderness.* For truly, whoever will cast his eyes over all the vast circumference of the earth, and will consider the nations thereof which are illuminated by the Sun of Justice, our Savior JESUS CHRIST; bedewed with his blood and precious Sacrament; nourished by his grace and word; animated and gladdened by his [vii] spirit; enlightened and governed by his divine Offices, honored by his utterances and actual presence; whoever, I say, will contemplate this, will have great reason to cry out, *Beyond the infernal destroyer*, and, *Where he does not extend, the earth is a Garden of delight*, where all blessings, even temporal and worldly happiness, follow the people, the real tree of life, our Redeemer, Jesus Christ, being planted in their midst. On the contrary, if we turn aside our gaze, and look behind this cursed tyrant, Lucifer, and upon the places where he has exercised his intolerable cruelties, we shall find only destruction and solitude, cries and lamentations, only desolation and the shadow of death. Now we need not go out from our own hemisphere to see and recognize [viii] this truth; Greece and Palestine con-

tine, jadis vn bel Eden, auiourd'huy vn pitoyable deſert nous ſont deuant les yeux. Que s'il vous plaiſt que nous nous regardions nous meſmes, pour, touchãt à la main cela meſme, rendre loüange au liberal donateur de nos biens: Ie vous prie ſuiuons ce Soleil corporel, qui nous eſclaire, & l'accompagnons en ſon couchant, pour ſçauoir, à qui par droicte ligne de nous, il va donner le bon iour au delà de noſtre Ocean, nous ayant icy recommandé au repos de la nuict. C'eſt la nouuelle France, ceſte nouuelle terre, dy-ie, deſcouuerte premierement au dernier ſiecle, par nos François, terre iumelle auec la noſtre, ſubiecte à meſmes influences, rangée en meſme parallele, ſituée en meſme climat; terre vaſte, & pour ainſi dire, infinie: [ix] terre que nous ſaluons, regardans noſtre Soleil en ſon veſpre: terre cependant, de laquelle vous pourrez meritoirement dire, ſi vous conſiderez Satan en front, & venant de l'Occident pour nous abbatre: *Deuant luy eſt vn Paradis de delices, & derriere luy la ſolitude d'vn deſert:* Car en pure verité toute ceſte region, quoy que capable de meſme felicité que nous, toutefois par malice de Satan, qui y regne, n'eſt qu'vn horrible deſert, nõ guiere moins calamiteux pour la malencontreuſe diſette des biens corporels, que pour celle, qui abſoluëment rend les hommes miſerables, l'extreme nudité des parements, & richeſſes de l'ame: & ne faut ja en accuſer le ſol, ou malignité de la terre, l'air, ou les eaux, les hommes, ou leurs humeurs: Nous ſommes tous faicts, & releuons de meſmes principes: [x] Nous reſpirons ſoubs meſme eleuation de pole, meſmes conſtellations nous temperent: & ne croy point, que la terre, laquelle produit là d'auſſi hauts, & beaux arbres que les noſtres, ne pro-

front us, formerly as beautiful as Eden, to-day a mournful desert; but if you wish that we should look upon our own country, that, having a striking proof thereof, we may render praise to the liberal giver of our blessings; I pray you let us follow this corporal Sun, which gives us light, and accompany it to its setting, to learn to whom, in a direct line from us, it goes forth to give good day across our Ocean, leaving us here to the stillness of the night. It is new France, this new land, first discovered in the last century, by our countrymen, a twin land with ours, subject to the same influences, lying in the same latitude, and having the same climate; a vast country, and so to speak, infinite; [ix] a country which we greet, facing our Sun at eventide: a land moreover, of which you may well say, if you consider Satan opposite and coming up from the West to smite us; *A Garden of delight lies before him, behind him a solitary wilderness.* For verily all this region, though capable of the same prosperity as ours, nevertheless through Satan's malevolence, which reigns there, is only a horrible wilderness, scarcely less miserable on account of the scarcity of bodily comforts than for that which renders man absolutely miserable, the complete lack of the ornaments and riches of the soul; and neither the sun, nor malice of the soil, neither the air nor the water, neither men nor their caprices, are to be blamed for this. We are all created by and dependent upon the same principles: [x] We breathe under the same sky; the same constellations influence us; and I do not believe that the land, which produces trees as tall and beautiful as ours, will not produce as fine harvests, if it be cultivated. Whence, then, comes such great

duiſiſt d'auſſi belles moiſſons, ſi elle eſtoit cultiuée, D'où vient donc vne ſi grande diuerſité? d'où ce tant inegal partage de bon, & mal heur? de jardin & deſert? de Paradis, & d'Enfer? Que m'interrogerez-vous? Interrogez celuy, qui du Ciel aduiſoit ſon peuple, de conſiderer ceſte tant oppoſite diuiſion entre Eſaü & Iacob, freres iumeaux, & comme ceſtuy-là eſtoit logé en l'air auec les dragõs, & beſtes ſauuages; & ceſtuy-cy en la moüelle, & mammelle de la terre auec les Anges.

Ceſte conſideration de vray eſt puiſſante, & deuroit occuper d'admiration tous nos ſentimens, [xi] nous retenãt en vne pieuſe crainte, & affectiõnée volonté de communiquer charitablement ce comble de biẽ du Chriſtianiſme; qui nous vient ſi gratuitement au rencontre: Car autrement certes il eſt facile à noſtre benin Pere de croiſer ſes bras comme fit Iacob, & mettre ſa dextre ſur le puyſné, & ſa gauche ſur le plus grand. O mon Dieu! où eſt icy l'ambition des Grands? où la contention des forts? où la monſtre des riches? où l'effort des vertueux? y a-il champ de Marathon, ou lices Olympiques plus propres aux courageux? où eſt-ce que la gloire d'vn Chreſtien le peut eſleuer plus heureuſement, que où elle apporteroit la felicité corporelle tout enſemble, & la ſpirituelle à ſes conſorts; & ou comme grand outil de Dieu, il feroit d'vn deſert vn Paradis? où [xii] il dompteroit les Monſtres infernaux, & introduiroit la police, & la milice du ciel en terre? où les generations, & generations à milliers, & iuſques aux derniers ſiecles beniroyent ſon nom & memoire ſans ceſſe, & le ciel meſme (qui ſe peupleroit de ſes biẽfaits) ſe reſiouyroit des graces, & benedictions, verſées deſſus luy?

diversity? Whence such an unequal division of happiness and of misfortune? of garden and of wilderness? of Heaven and of Hell? Why do you ask me? Ask him, who from Heaven counsels his people, to consider the so opposite division between Esau and Jacob, twin brothers, the former cast out to dwell with dragons and wild beasts; the latter in the lap and bosom of the earth with the Angels.

This consideration is certainly powerful, and ought to inspire all our sentiments with admiration, [xi] keeping us in pious fear, and in loving desire to benevolently impart this highest of all the blessings of Christianity, which comes to us so gratuitously and of its own accord. For otherwise it is certainly easy for our kind Father to cross his hands as did Jacob, and put his right upon the younger, and his left upon the elder. Oh, my God! where is here the ambition of the Great? where, the contention of the strong? where, the display of the rich? where, the endeavor of the virtuous? is there a field of Marathon, or are there Olympian games, more fitting to the brave? Where can the glory of a Christian more successfully ennoble him, than there where it brings both bodily and spiritual happiness to his brethren; and where, as one of God's great instruments, he would make a Garden out of the wilderness; where [xii] he would subjugate satanic Monsters, and would introduce the order and discipline of heaven upon earth; where generations upon generations, by thousands and to the remotest ages, would forever bless his name and memory, and heaven itself (which would be peopled by his good deeds) would rejoice at the thanksgivings and blessings bestowed upon him.

Now (dear Reader) it is this my eagerness and ardent

Or c'eſt (amy Lecteur) l'ardent deſir, & zele de voir ceſte nouuelle France, que ie dy, cõquiſe à noſtre Seigneur: qui m'a fait prendre la plume en main pour vous depeindre briefuement, & en toute verité ce que i'ay recogneu de ſes cõtrées. Il y a quatre ans, que i'y fus enuoyé pas mes Superieurs: &, Dieu puniſſant mes pechez, i'en ay eſté deſpuis enleué par les Anglois, ainſi que ie raconteray cy-apres.

desire to see this new France converted to our Lord, which has made me take my pen in hand to describe to you briefly, and in all truth, what I have found out about these lands. It is four years since I was sent there by my Superiors; and, as God's punishment for my sins, I was taken away from there by the English, as I shall relate hereafter.

Relation de la Novvelle France, et le Voyage des Peres Iesvites en icelle.

CHAPITRE I.

[1] QUEL PAÏS EST LA NOUUELLE FRANCE, & CEUX QUI PREMIEREMENT L'ONT VOULU HABITER.

NOVS appellons Nouuelle France; les terres, & païs de l'Amerique, ou Indes Occidentales, qui ſont à l'autre bord de l'Ocean de Guienne, vers le Soleil couchant, oppoſites à nous, & droictement correſpondantes en meſme ligne de l'Orient à l'Occident. [2] On leur a imposé ce nom de Nouuelle France, pour deux raiſons principalement. La premiere, d'autant que (comme i'ay dit) ces terres ſont paralleles à noſtre France, n'y ayant rien entre la Guienne & ces dictes contrées, ſinon noſtre mer d'Occident, large en ſon plus eſtroict, de huict cens lieües & d'auantage; En ſon plus ample peu moins de mille lieües ou enuiron. La ſeconde raiſon eſt d'autant que ce païs a eſté premierement deſcouuert par les François Bretons, l'an 1504. Il y ja cent & onze ans; Et qui deſpuis n'ont ceſſé de la frequenter. Les Normans de meſme ont contribué à ce trauail des premiers; entre leſquels nous liſons, que le Capitaine Thomas Aubert, Dieppois y fit voile, l'an 1508. & en ramena des Sauuages du païs, leſquels il fit voir auec admiration, [3] & applaudiſſement à la France. Deux ans auant luy le Capitaine Ieã Denys de Honfleur auoit

Relation of New France, and the Jesuit Fathers' Voyage to that country.

CHAPTER I.

[1] ON THE LOCATION OF NEW FRANCE, AND THOSE WHO FIRST ATTEMPTED TO SETTLE THERE.

WE call New France,[1] the lands and countries of America or the West Indies, which are upon the other shore of the Ocean of Guienne,[2] towards the setting Sun, opposite us and lying directly in the same line from East to West. [2] They have given it this name of New France principally for two reasons. The first, because (as I have said) these lands are parallel to our France, nothing lying between Guienne and said countries, except our Western sea, in its narrowest part more than eight hundred leagues wide; in its widest, a little less than a thousand leagues, or thereabout. The second reason is that this country was first discovered by French Bretons, in the year 1504, one hundred and eleven years ago, and since then they have not ceased to visit it. The Normans also assisted in these early discoveries; among whom we read that Captain Thomas Aubert,[3] of Dieppe, sailed in the year 1508, and brought back from there some of the Natives, whom he exhibited to the wonder [3] and applause of France. Two years before him, Captain Jean Denys,[4] of Honfleur, had made the same discovery; but, as he brought back only some fish, and Geograph-

fait la meſme deſcouuerte; Mais par ce qu'il n'en auoit rapporté que des poiſſons, & des cartes Geographiques, ſon renom en eſt demeuré plus obſcur, que de Thomas Aubert. Depuis l'an 1523. Iean Verazan courut toute la coſte, dés la Floride iuſques au Cap Breton, & en prit poſſeſſion au nom de François I. ſon maiſtre. Ie croy que ç'a eſté ce Iean Verazan, qui a eſté le Parrain de ceſte denomination de Nouuelle France: Parce que Canada, (duquel nom auſſi on l'appelle communement) n'eſt point à proprement parler toute ceſte tenuë de païs, qu'ores on nõme Nouuelle France; Ains eſt celle tant ſeulement, laquelle s'eſtend au long des riuages du grand Fleuue Canadas, & [4] le Gelfe de S. Laurens; qui n'eſt ſeulement, que la partie la plus Septentrionale de la Nouuelle France; ainſi qu'il vous appert par la carte Geographique, que nous vous appoſons icy.

A Canada touche l'Acadie, ou pays des Souriquoys plus bas vers le Sud: Et plus bas encores au delà de la Baye Françoiſe eſt la Norambegue. De ces deux mots de Norambegue & de Acadie, il n'en reſte plus aucune memoire ſur le pays; ouy bien de Canada, laquelle fut principalement deſcouuerte par Iacques Cartier, l'an 1524. & puis par vn ſecond voyage dix ans apres l'an 1534.

Or dés le commencement de ces deſcouuertes, les François ont beaucoup traicté du cultiuage, & habitation de ces deſerts. (Deſerts ſont-ce voirement, tout le pays n'eſtant qu'vne foreſt infinie.) [5] Aucuns particuliers en ſont encores venus iuſques aux tentatiues, comme Roberual & le Marquis de la Roche, & autres. Mais l'entrepriſe la plus haute diuulguée, & recente pour ceſt effect, a eſté celle du ſieur de Monts

ical charts, he has not become so renowned as Thomas Aubert. After the year 1523, Jean Verazan[5] skirted all the coast from Florida to Cape Breton, and took possession of it in the name of his master, Francis I. I believe it was Jean Verazan who was Godfather to this title of "New France;"[1] for Canada (a name by which they also frequently call it) is not, properly speaking, all this extent of country which they now call New France; but it is only that part, which extends along the banks of the great River Canada, and [4] the Gulf of St. Lawrence;[6] this being only the most Northern part of New France, as will be seen from the Geographical chart which we insert herein.[7]

Acadie, or the Souriquoys country farther South, is next to Canada, and still farther down, on the other side of French Bay, is Norambegue. Of these two words, Norambegue and Acadie, there no longer remains any remembrance in the country;[8] yet there is of Canada, which was discovered principally by Jacques Cartier in 1524, and then in a second voyage ten years afterwards in 1534.

Now ever since the first of these discoveries, the French have been talking about cultivating and inhabiting these wildernesses. (Wildernesses they certainly are, the whole country being but an interminable forest.) [5] Certain individuals, such as Roberval and the Marquis de la Roche, and others, have even attempted it.[9] But the most widely known and latest voyage undertaken for this purpose was that of sieur de Monts, Pierre du Gas, who has been very highly commended for it. Having considerable money at his disposal, and having associated with him for this object certain Merchants

Pierre du Gas, qui s'en eſt acquis grande recommandation. Iceluy ayant fait vn aſſez notable fonds d'argent; & à ceſt effect aſſocié aucũs Marchands de Roüen, de ſainct Malo, & de la Rochelle; receut de feu d'heureuſe memoire Henry le Grand, pleine puiſſance, & authorité de Lieutenant de Roy ſur ces dictes contrées dés le quarantieſme degré d'eleuation, iuſques au quaranteſixieſme: car là aboutiſſoit la puiſſance, qui luy eſtoit dõnée de diſpoſer des terres; Ses priuileges neantmoins de la traitte, & gouuernement s'eſtendoiẽt iuſques au 54. degré, ainſi qu'on [6] peut recognoiſtre par les lettres Royaux qui luy en furent expediées. Par ainſi de ceſte Commiſſion du ſieur de Monts, il ſemble, qu'on aye prins occaſion de retrecir les limites de la Nouuelle Frãce; Car (comme nous auons dit) auparauãt elle s'eſtendoit iuſques à la Floride vers le Sud, là où maintenãt on la borne quaſi communement du trenteneufuieſme degré de latitude Auſtrale, ainſi que vous la voyez en noſtre carte. Ses limites à l'Orient, ſont noſtre mer; à l'Occident ce ſera la mer de la Chine, ſi nous auons aſſez de valeur & vertu: car autres bornes n'y a-il, qui ſoient certaines, le pays eſtant infiny, & plus eſtendu dix & douze fois que n'eſt toute noſtre France.

Or le ſieur de Monts ayant l'authorité & puiſſance cy-deuant dicte, & aſſez bien muny, & accompagné [7] partit de France l'an 1604. iuſtement cent ans apres la premiere deſcouuerte de ces terres, il s'alla loger en la Cõſte de la Nõrembegue entre les peuples Eteminquoys, en vne petite Iſle, qu'il appella de ſaincte Croix: Mais le malheur l'y accueillit: car il perdit de maladie vne grande partie de ſes gens.

Et partant l'année ſuyuante, cõtrainct par la ne-

of Roüen, of saint Malo and of la Rochelle, he received from the late Henry the Great, of happy memory, full power and authority, as Lieutenant of the King in these said countries, from the fortieth to the forty-sixth parallel of latitude, for there ended the power given him to dispose of lands. However, his rights of trade and government extended to the 54th parallel, as [6] can be learned from the Royal letters that were sent to him. Thus, by sieur de Monts's Commission, it seems that they took occasion to narrow down the boundaries of New France: for (as we have said) hitherto it had extended as far South as Florida, while now it is generally bounded on the South by the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude, as you see by our chart. Its Eastern boundary is our sea; its Western, will be the China sea, if we have force and courage enough; as to other boundaries, it has none which are definite, the country being unlimited, and ten or twelve times more extensive than our entire France.

Now sieur de Monts, having the authority and power mentioned, and being well equipped and [7] accompanied, left France in the year 1604, just a hundred years after the discovery of this country, and went to live upon the Coast of Norembegue among the Eteminquoys people, upon a small Island, which he called sainte Croix. But misfortune overtook him there, for he lost a great many of his people by sickness.

Leaving there the following year, forced by necessity, he changed his dwelling place to Port Royal, towards the East Southeast, some twenty-six leagues away, in Acadie or the Souriquoys country. Here he remained only two years, for the associated Mer-

ceſſité, il changea de demeure à Port Royal vers l'Eſt Sueſt, à quelques vingt ſix lieües de là, en l'Acadie au païs des Souriquoys, là où il ne demeura que deux ans, d'autant que les Marchands aſſociez, voyants que leur miſe ſurmontoit la recepte ne voulurẽt plus tenir coup: Ainſi falluſt, que tous reuinſſent en Frãce, ne laiſſans pour monument de leur exploict, ſinon deux alogements tous vuides, celuy de ſaincte [8] Croix, & celuy de Port Royal; Et n'en rapportant autre guieres plus grand fruict, que les Topographies, & deſcriptiõs des Mers, Caps, Coſtes, & Riuieres, qu'ils auoient parcouru. Voilà tous les principaux actes de nos diligẽces, iuſques aux années 1610. & 1611. deſquelles nous parlerons tantoſt, quãd il nous y faudra conduire les Ieſuites. Mais au preallable, ſelon noſtre promeſſe, & comme l'exige la condition de noſtre deſſein, nous monſtrerons l'Horoſcope, & Geniture de ces terres: Ie veux dire les aſpects du ciel, ſur icelles, leurs temps, ſaiſons, temperature, & qualitez.

chants, seeing that their outlay exceeded their receipts, no longer cared to continue the experiment. So they all had to return to France, leaving nothing as a monument of their adventure, except two dwellings entirely empty, that of sainte [8] Croix, and that of Port Royal; and bringing no greater spoils back with them, than the Topography and description of the Seas, Capes, Coasts, and Rivers, which they had traversed. These are all the chief results of our efforts up to the years 1610 and 1611, of which we shall speak hereafter in conducting the Jesuits there. But as a preliminary, according to our promise, and as the nature of our purpose demands, we shall show the Horoscope and Geniture of these lands, I mean their climate, their weather, seasons, temperature, and conditions.

CHAPITRE II.

[9] DES TEMPS, SAISONS, & TEMPERATURE DE LA NOUUELLE FRANCE.

CES terres eſtant, comme nous auons dit, paralleles à noſtre France, c'eſt à dire, en meſme climat, & meſme eleuation, par reigle d'Aſtrologie, elles doiuent auoir meſmes influẽces, meſmes inclinations, & temperatures: car elles ne different en cela, que cõme differẽt entre nous par exẽple Grenoble, Vienne, & Bourdeaux, Paris & Cornoaille, Marſeille, & Bayõne, ſçauoir eſt, q̃ ſeulemẽt vn lieu eſt plus Oriẽtal, que l'autre; quant au reſte, il a meſme grandeur de iours, meſme aſpect des eſtoilles, meſmes ſaiſons, & temperature. Vray eſt que la nouuelle France deſcend trois degrez [10] plus bas vers le midy, que ne faict la noſtre, laquelle s'arreſte à Fontarabie, c'eſt à dire, au 42. degré; là où la Nouuelle franchit iuſques au 39. pour le moins, & plus loin, s'il plaiſt à ſa Majeſté de ne rien rabatre de ce que ſon predeceſſeur François I. auoit acquis.

Neantmoins, quoy qu'en diſent les Aſtrologues, ſi faut-il aduouër que ce païs là (parlant vniuerſellement, & cõme il eſt à ceſte heure) eſt plus froid que n'eſt noſtre Frãce, & qu'il y a diuerſité grande quant aux temps & ſaiſons de l'vn à l'autre: Dequoy les cauſes n'en ſont pas au ciel, il les faut rechercher en terre. Ie teſmoignerai fidelemẽt des effects leſquels i'ay experimẽté deux ans & demy continuels; Ie

CHAPTER II.

[9] ON THE WEATHER, SEASONS, AND TEMPERATURE OF NEW FRANCE.

THIS country being, as we have said, parallel to our France, that is, in the same climate and latitude, by a principle of Astrology it ought to have the same physical forces, deviations and temperatures; for it does not vary in those particulars any more than, for example, Grenoble, Vienne, and Bourdeaux, Paris and Cornoaille,[10] Marseilles and Bayonne, vary among us; that is, only as one place is farther to the East than the other; also, its days are of the same length, its astral conditions the same, it has the same seasons and temperature. It is true that new France extends three degrees [10] farther south than ours does, which stops at Fontarabie,[11] that is, at the 42nd parallel; while New France extends at least to the 39th, and farther, if it pleases his Majesty not to give up anything that his predecessor, Francis I., had acquired.

Nevertheless, whatever the Astrologers may say, it must be confessed that that country (generally speaking, and as it is at present) is colder than our France, and that they differ greatly from each other in regard to weather and seasons. The causes thereof not being in the sky, we must seek them upon the earth. I shall show accurately some experiments I made continuously for two years and a half, I might say three years and a half, only I consumed

dirois trois ans & demy, n'eſtoit que i'ay conſumé preſqu'vn an à diuerſes reprinſes en nauigations faictes loin du Continent. Le lieu [11] de ma plus longue demeure a eſté Port Royal, preſque à 45. degrez de hauteur polaire. Là donc la neige nous arriuoit ſur la fin de Nouembre, & ne ſe fondoit iamais entierement dedans les bois, que ſur la fin de Feurier, s'il n'arriuoit, comme ſouuent, quelque groſſe pluye, ou quelque fort vent de Midy qui la fondiſt. Mais elle n'eſtoit pas ſi toſt fonduë qu'il en tomboit d'autre. Hors des bois, & au deſcouuert elle n'y croupit guiere plus qu'en Frãce, mais il y nege plus ſouuent que d'ordinaire en France: la plus haute nege, que i'y aye veu ç'a eſté d'vn pied & demy, encore non pas. Quand le Noroueſt (qu'icy nous appellõs Galerne) ſe met en ſes fougues, le froid y eſt intolerable, mais cela ne dure que huict, ou dix iours pour le plus, puis le temps s'adoucit pour vn eſpace, cõme en France; [12] & ne ſeroit on non plus empeſché de trauailler à quelque meſtier, voire d'aller & venir, qu'en France; ſi lon y eſtoit accommodé, comme en France. Mais ce n'a eſté qu'vne extreme pauureté de tout ce que i'y ay veu. Des miſerables cabanes ouuertes en pluſieurs endroits: noſtre viure pois, & febues, encores biẽ eſcharſement; noſtre boire l'eau pure: les hardes, & habits de nos gens tous frippez; nos prouiſions, d'aller au bois du iour à la iournée, nos medicaments, vn verre de vin aux bonnes feſtes; nos reſtaurans, quelque peu de chaſſe, ou de gibier par bonnes auentures; le lieu inhabité, les chemins ſans veſtige aucun, la chauſſure du pied propre pour le foyer. Allez auec cela & dittes qu'il ne fait point d'hyuer en Canada. Mais au moins ne

nearly a year at various times in voyages away from the Mainland. The place [11] where I remained the longest was Port Royal, almost on the 45th parallel of north latitude. Now at that place the snow came towards the end of November, and it never entirely thawed in the woods until about the last of February, unless, as often happened, a heavy rain, or strong South wind came to melt it. But no sooner did this snow melt than more fell. Outside the woods, and in the open places, it did not last any longer than it does in France, but it snows oftener there than it usually does in France. The deepest snow I have seen in that country was not quite a foot and a half. When the Northwest wind (which we call here Galerne) lashes itself into a fury, the cold there is insufferable, but it lasts only eight or ten days at the most, then the weather becomes milder for a while, as it is in France, [12] and people would no longer be prevented from going on with their work, or even from going back and forth, as in France, if they had the same accommodations we have here. But whatever I saw here was extreme poverty. Some wretched cabins, open in many places; our food, peas and beans, rather scarce in quantity; our drink, pure water; the clothes of our people all in rags; our supplies found in the woods from day to day; our medicine a glass of wine on great holidays; our restoratives, perchance a trifle from the chase of a little feathered game; the place uninhabited, no footprints upon the paths, our shoes only fit for the fireside. After this, go and say there is no winter in Canada. But at least do not say that the water there is not [13] excellent, and the air not healthful; for it is certainly wonderful that, notwithstanding all

dittes, que les eaux n'y ſoyent fort [13] bonnes, & l'air fort ſalubre: car c'eſt de vray choſe merueilleuſe comme nonobſtant toutes ces miſeres nous nous ſommes touſiours fort bien portés, eſtans touſiours pour le moins vingt en nombre; Et ſi en trois ans n'en ſont morts de maladie que deux tant ſeulement, vn de S. Malo, & vn autre Breton: encores ce dernier mourut plus à faute d'auoir vn peu de pain & de vin pour ſe reſtaurer, (tout cela nous eſtant failly) que non pour atrocité de ſymptome; ou cruauté de maladie.

Que ſi nous nous ſouuenons comme Iacques Quartier perdit quaſi toutes ſes gens, la fois qu'il hiuerna premieremẽt en ces pays; & comme de meſme le ſieur de Monts en perdit bien la moitié la premiere année de S. Croix, & l'an ſuiuant, qui fut le premier de port Royal, encores ſentit-il grãd [14] dechet, moindre toutesfois, & puis moindre la troiſieſme année. De meſmes auſſi que depuis à Kebec la premiere année pluſieurs furẽt trouſſés, & non pas tant à la ſeconde. Ceſt amas de meſmes accidents nous pourra ſeruir à recognoiſtre les cauſes des maladies & de la ſanté, que tant diuerſement nous auons ſenti. La maladie commune a eſté le Scorbut, qu'on appelle maladie de la terre. les iambes, cuiſſes & face enflent; les leures ſe pourriſſent, & leur ſuruiennent de grandes excroiſſances, l'haleine eſt courbe, auec vne faſcheuſe toux, les bras meurtris, & le cuir tacheté, toute la perſonne languit auec grand ennuy, & douleur, ſans rien pouuoir aualer, ſinon quelque peu de liquide. Le ſieur Champlain philoſophant ſur cecy, attribue la cauſe de ces maladies aux vapeurs [15] que ceux-là boiuent, qui labourent, renuerſent, & habitent premierement

these discomforts, we always kept our health, being never less than twenty in number, and that in three years only two of us died of disease, one a man from St. Malo and the other a Breton; yet the latter died more for want of a little bread and wine to restore him (there being a dearth of all those things) than from the gravity of the symptoms or malignancy of the disease.

Let us recall how Jacques Quartier lost almost all his people, the first winter he passed in this country; and also how sieur de Monts lost about half of his the first winter at Ste. Croix, and the following one, which was the first at port Royal, he also experienced great [14] loss, but not so much, and the third year still less. Likewise at Kebec, afterwards, several died the first year, and not so many the second. This collection of incidents will serve to show us the causes of sickness and of health, which we have experienced so differently. The common disease was Scurvy, which is called land disease. The limbs, thighs, and face swell; the lips decay, and great sores come out upon them; the breath is short, and is burdened with an irritating cough; the arms are discolored, and the skin covered with blotches; the whole body sinks under exhaustion and languor, and nothing can be swallowed except a little liquid. Sieur de Champlain, philosophizing upon this, attributes the cause of these diseases to the dampness [15] inhaled by those who plow, spade, and first live upon this ground, which has never been exposed to the sun. His statements are plausible and not without examples; but they may be confronted by the fact that sailors, who only go to the coast to fish, and do not clear the land at all, nor live upon it, often fall ill of

ces terres, leſquelles n'ont iamais eſté deſcouuertes du ſoleil. Son dire n'eſt pas impertinent, ny ſans exemples: neantmoins on peut oppoſer, que les mariniers, qui ne vont qu'à la coſte pour peſcher, & ne defrichent aucunes terres, ny ne les habitent: nonobſtant ſouuent tombent en ce mal, & ſur tous les Bretõs. Car il ſemble que ce mal les va triant d'entre tous les autres. Item, que nous, qui nous ſommes bien portés, comme i'ay dit, renuerſions neantmoins prou de terres, & les euentions, & ſi n'auons nous iamais ſceu que c'eſtoit de ce mal, horſmis vn peu moy, qui au ſecõd hyuer, que i'y ay paſſé deuins fort enfle auec vne fieure, & alteratiõ incroyable: Mais i'eus touſiours les genciues, & leures entieres, & [16] mon mal ſe perdit en dix, ou douze iours. Ie croy bien, que cela y ſeruoit de beaucoup, que noſtre logis n'eſtoit point nouueau, & que tout eſtant eſſarté à l'entour de noſtre habitatiõ dés long tẽps, nous auions l'air pur & libre. Et c'eſt à mon aduis ce que Champlain a principalement voulu dire.

I'en ay ouy d'autres, qui philoſophoyent autrement, & non ſans Phyſique. Ceux-cy opinoyent, que le demeurer acroupy pendant vn long, & ſombre hyuer, tel qu'eſt celuy de Canada, auoit cauſé ce mal aux nouueaux habitans. Que de toutes les gens du ſieur de Monts, qui premierement hyuernerent à Saincte Croix, onze ſeulement demeurerent en ſanté. C'eſtoyent les chaſſeurs, qui en gaillards compagnons aimoyent mieux la picorée, que l'air du foyer; [17] courir vn eſtang, que de ſe renuerſer pareſſeuſement dans vn lict, de peſtrir les neiges en abbattant le gibier, que non pas de deuiſer de Paris & de ſes rotiſſeurs aupres du feu. Auſſi de vray quãd à nous

this malady, and especially the Bretons, for it seems to pick them out from all the others. Also, that we, who were well as I have said, worked a great deal in the soil and out in the open air, yet we scarcely knew what this evil was, except I myself, to a slight degree, during the second winter, when I became very much bloated from fever and extreme weakness; but my gums and lips were not affected, and [16] my illness passed off in ten or twelve days. I believe it was a great benefit to us that our dwelling was not new, and that, the space around the settlement having been cleared for a long time, we had a free and pure circulation of air. And I believe that this is principally what Champlain meant.

I have heard of others, who argued differently, and not without Logic. They believed that living inactive during a long and gloomy winter, like that of Canada, had been the cause of this disease among the new inhabitants. Of all sieur de Monts's people who wintered first at Sainte Croix, only eleven remained well. These were a jolly company of hunters, who preferred rabbit hunting, to the air of the fireside; [17] skating on the ponds, to turning over lazily in bed; making snowballs to bring down the game, to sitting around the fire talking about Paris and its good cooks. Also, as to us who were always well at Port Royal, our poverty certainly relieved us of two great evils, that of excessive eating and drinking, and of laziness. For we always had good exercise of some kind, and on the other hand our stomachs were not overloaded. I certainly believe that this medicine was of great benefit to us.

Let us return to our discourse upon the weather and seasons. I noticed once, that two February days,

autres, qui auons touſiours eſté ſains à Port Royal; la diſette, en laquelle auons eſté, nous a affranchi de deux grands maux; ſçauoir d'excés au boire, & au manger; & de faineantiſe. Car touſiours nous auions quelque bõ exercice: noſtre eſtomach d'autre part n'eſtoit point ſurchargé. Certes ie croy que ceſte oppiate nous à beaucoup ſerui.

Reprenons noſtre taſche des temps, & ſaiſons. I'ay remarqué vne fois les deux iours de Feurier 26. & 27. eſtre auſſi beaux, doux, & printaniers qu'on en voye point en France enuiron ce temps-là; neantmoins le troiſieſme iour [18] ſuiuant il negea quelque peu, & le froid reuint. En eſté quelque fois le chaud y eſt autant, où plus intolerable qu'en France: mais il ne dure pas. Bien toſt le temps ſe broüille. Les arbres y fueillẽt plus tard qu'en France pour l'ordinaire, & qu'ils n'ont fait ceſte preſente année 1614. Car arriuant en Picardie ſur la fin d'Auril, ie n'y ay pas trouué la ſaiſon plus auancée. Encores me ſembloit-il qu'en Canada tout pouſſoit d'auantage. Et parlant vniuerſellement, le temps, & ſaiſon de ce pays-là, eſt du tout reſſemblant à celuy que nous auons experimenté ceſte dicte année icy, à Paris, & en Picardie, horſmis quant aux brumes & broüillars, auſquels ledit pays eſt plus ſubject. A Port Royal nous n'en auions gueres l'Eſté, ſinon prés la coſte de mer; mais aux Etechemins & à Pentegoet ces [19] broüées tiennent ſouuent en Eſté les trois & quatre iours, c'eſt choſe fort melancholique, & nous a donné apprehenſion qu'elle ne permettroit point que nos moiſſons peuſſent meurir; neantmoins nous auons trop d'arguments au contraire. Car à Port Royal, qui eſt plus froid, & inegal, elles meuriſſent, & en ay

the 26th and 27th, were as beautiful, mild, and spring-like as are those in France about that time; nevertheless, the third day [18] after, it snowed a little and the cold returned. Sometimes in summer the heat is as intolerable, or more so than it is in France; but it does not last long, and soon the sky begins to be overcast. The foliage appears upon the trees later than it usually does in France, yet it has not done so this year, 1614, for when I arrived in Picardie towards the end of April, I did not find the season any more advanced there. Indeed it seemed to me that in Canada everything sprouted sooner. And, speaking in general, the weather and season over there are just like what we have experienced here this year in Paris and Picardie, except for the drizzling rains and fogs, which are more common in that country. At Port Royal we had scarcely any during the Summer, except near the coast. But among the Etechemins and at Pentegoet, these [19] fogs often continue for three and four days, a very discouraging thing, and we were afraid they would keep our crops from ripening; nevertheless, we have too many arguments to the contrary. For at Port Royal, which is colder, and more changeable, they ripened, and I had a three years' experience there. Also, Champlain asserts that at Ste. Croix, which is upon this same coast (in a very chilly and cloudy location) their wheat and other crops always ripened.

But in truth what can be the cause of these hoar-frosts and cold, so much greater than we usually have in France? For it is well to consider it, since even Norembegue, where our settlement of St. Sauveur was located, is as far South, as our most Southern Provinces, [20] Guienne, Languedoc, and Dauphiné. But

l'experience de trois ans. Item Champlain aſſeure qu'à S. Croix, qui eſt en ceſte meſme coſte, (en vn endroit fort frilleux & nuageux) toutesfois leurs bleds, & ſemailles vindrent à maturité.

Voire, mais quelle peut eſtre la cauſe de ces frimas, & de ce plus grand froid, que nous ne ſentons d'ordinaire en France? Car il y a bien à conſiderer, veu meſmes que la Norembegue, où eſtoit noſtre habitation de S. Sauueur, eſt autant Auſtrale, que nos Prouinces, [20] qui le ſont le plus, la Guiẽne, Languedoc, & Dauphiné. Si n'en faut-il point aſſigner la cauſe aux montagnes. Car nous n'en voyons point là de fort hautes, telles que ſont nos Seuenes, Meſain, la Chartreuſe, & vne grande partie d'Auuergne, Velay, Dauphiné & Prouence, & ſeroit hors de toute apparence que ce peu de haut pays, qu'on remarque en la Norembegue, peuſt cauſer ſi grandes alterations en ſi vaſte eſtẽduë de Prouince; meſmes que le grand froid de ce pays là ne vient pas du coſté où plus y a de haut pays, qui eſt le Nordeſt, (ainſi que vous pouués apperceuoir en la charte) ains du Noroüeſt, qui eſt tout plat.

Les defenſeurs des influences tiennent icy bon dans leur Caſematte, & auancent leurs armes defenſiues eſtre tout, ſçauoir eſt, [21] leurs cauſes incogneuës; diſants qu'il y a ie ne ſçay quoy au ciel, qui cauſe ceſt effect en ces terres: & ſemblablement le Drach, paſſant par la mer Occidentale de ces regions, à l'endroit de la nouuelle Albion, au deſſous du deſtroict d'Auian, à 40. 42. & 44. d'eleuation Septentrionale, il y trouua ſi grand froid, qu'il fuſt contrainct de rebrouſſer chemin. De meſmes qu'au pays de Counibas, qui eſt en meſme latitude au dedans des

we cannot assign the cause to the mountains, for we have not seen any very high ones there, such as our Sevenes, Mesain, Chartreuse, and a large part of Auvergne, Velay, Dauphiné and Provence; and it would be out of all question that so slight an elevation as is to be seen in Norembegue, could cause so great a variation in such a vast extent of country; also the great cold of that country does not come from the coast, where the greatest elevations are to be found, which is the Northeast (as you can see from the chart), but from the Northwest, which is entirely flat.

Here the defenders of silent forces hold themselves well intrenched in their Fortress and simply advance their defensive weapons, i. e., [21] their unknown causes, saying that there is an inexplicable something in the sky which causes this effect upon these lands: and also Drake, traversing the sea West of this country, in the region of New Albion, below the strait of Auian, at 40°, 42°, and 44° North latitude, encountered such severe cold that he was forced to turn back.[12] Likewise that in the Counibas[13] country, which is in the same latitude in the interior of the continent, the Spaniards found high mountains, and such severe cold, that they could not remain there; that those countries, from which comes the most severe cold, are West of us, and that this might well be the cause of these frosts and fogs, through a continuous current of air. But why, both in new Albion and in the Connibas country, does it become so cold? We [22] cannot know the cause thereof, they say, and must believe that there are certain influences, which we do not discover. They must give the cold rather strong wings to make it come to us from four or five hundred leagues. For I believe

terres, les Eſpagnols y ont trouué de grandes mõtagnes, & ſi grand froid, qu'ils n'y ont peu durer. Que ces pays là ſont à noſtre Oüeſt, d'où les plus horribles froidures procedent, & que ceſte pourroit bien eſtre la cauſe de ces gelées, & gry-temps par vne continuation d'air. Mais pourquoy, & en la nouuelle Albion, & au pays de Connibas y glace-il ſi fort? On [22] n'en peut pas bien ſçauoir la cauſe, diſent-ils, & faut croire qu'il y a certaines influences, que nous ne deſcouurons pas. C'eſt bien certes bailler de fortes aiſles au froid, le nous faire venir de quatre, ou cinq cens lieuës. Car ie croy qu'il y en a bien autant, voire plus, iuſques à la nouuelle Albion: cependant nous voyõs que ſouuent vne ſeule lieuë de pays & encores moins, donne changement notable de chaud, & de froid, de clair & d'obſcur, de ſec & d'humide, & toutes autres telles variations ainſi qu'il eſt notoire. De plus cela eſt ridicule, apres auoir fait cinq cents lieuës pour trouuer le froid en ſon giſte, & cauerne originaire, ne rencontrer ſinon ie ne ſçay quelles influẽces, qu'on ne peut nommer, & certaines impreſſions occultes. N'euſſiez vous pas pluſtoſt fait deſloger [23] ces aſpects, impreſſions, & cauſes anonymes, & abſconſes que vous dites ſur Canada meſme, ou deſſous elle, ou dedans, que de les aller chercher ſi loing en vn pays où vous ne fuſtes iamais?

Quant à nous, apres auoir prou diſputé, nous n'auons trouué que deux cauſes de la diſproportion qu'il y a entre ce pays là, & ceſtui-cy, quant au temps & ſaiſons: l'vne eſt, que Canada eſt plus Aquatique: & l'autre quell'eſt inculte. Car premierement ſi vous regardez meſmes la charte Geographique, vous verrez ceſte region eſtre fort entrecoupée de ſeins & bayes de mer, & ſes terres eſchancrées d'eau, ell'eſt outre

there are as many and more than that, up to new Albion; however, we often notice that a single league and even less makes a noticeable difference in the heat and cold, light and darkness, dryness and humidity, and all such other variations, so much so that it is remarkable. Moreover, it is ridiculous, after having gone five hundred leagues to find the cold in its native lair, not to encounter anything except inexplicable influences, which cannot be named, and certain mysterious agencies. Would you not rather seek out [23] these aspects, agencies, and unknown and hidden causes which you talk about, in Canada itself, either below or within it, rather than to look for them so far away in a country where you have never been?

As to us, after having sufficiently discussed the matter, we found only two causes for the difference between the two countries, as to weather and seasons; one is that Canada ~~has more Water, and the other~~ that it is uncultivated. For, in the first place, if you merely look at the chart, you will see that this region is very much indented with gulfs and bays, and that its lands, hollowed out by the waters, are much more intersected by rivers, and occupied by a number of ponds and lakes, which would be a great ornament and convenience to the country if it were inhabited; but all this also causes the [24] cold and fogs, as well upon the borders of the sea and rivers. Now we have never lived anywhere else, for we have not penetrated into the country except through the sea and rivers. Acadie, otherwise called the Souriquoys, where Port Royal is, is almost a peninsula; also it is more chilly and more variable than Norambegue,

plus fort arrouſée de riuieres, & occupée de pluſieurs eſtangs, & lacs, ce qui ſeroit vn grand ornement, & commodité du pays s'il eſtoit habité, mais auſſi tout cela cauſe du [24] froid, & des bruiſnes, meſmement aux bords de la mer, & riuieres. Or nous n'auons iamais demeuré autre part. Car nous ne ſommes point entrés dedans les terres, ſinon par les moyen de la mer & des riuieres. L'Acadie autrement ditte les Souriquoys, où eſt Port Royal, eſt quaſi peninſule: auſſi eſt elle plus frilleuſe, & plus inegale, que n'eſt la Norambegue, laquelle ſans doute eſt meilleure, & en toutes façons plus habitable, & plantureuſe.

La ſeconde cauſe du froid eſt toute ſemblable, ſçauoir eſt la ſauuagine & friche du pays: car ce n'eſt tout qu'vne foreſt infinie: Partant le ſol ne peut eſtre de lõg temps eſchauffé par le ſoleil, ſoit pource qu'il a la crouſte dure, n'eſtant iamais labouré, ſoit à cauſe des arbres, qui l'ombragent perpetuellement, ſoit parce que la nege, [25] & les eaux y croupiſſent long temps, ſans pouuoir eſtre conſumées. Par ainſi de ces terres ne ſe peuuent eſleuer, que des vapeurs froides, mornes & relentes: & ce ſont les bruines lors que le vent ceſſe, ce ſont auſſi nos gelées cuiſantes, lors que l'agitation & le ſouffle les met en cholere. Là où ſi la terre eſtoit habitée, & cultiuée, outre que d'elle, & des logis des habitans monteroyent des exhalations, c'eſt à dire, des fumées chaudes, & ſeches: le ſoleil de plus la trouueroit diſpoſée à ſentir ſes rayons, & diſſipper le froid, & broüillars: ce qui nous eſtoit fort oculaire, & ſenſible. Car en ce peu que nous auions labouré, touſiours la nege s'y fondoit pluſtoſt qu'autre part, & de là d'ordinaire les broüees commençoyent à ſe diſſiper, & peu à peu s'eſuanouïr.

which without doubt is better and in every way more habitable and fertile.

The second cause of the cold is very similar; namely, the wild and primitive condition of the land; for this is only a boundless forest, and so the soil cannot be readily warmed by the sun, either because it has a hard crust, never having been ploughed, or on account of the trees, which cast upon it a perpetual shade, or because the snow [25] and water stagnate there for a long time with no possibility of being consumed. Thus, from these lands nothing can arise except cold, gloomy, and mouldy vapors; and these are the fogs when the wind ceases, and our piercing cold when they are put in motion and blown into a fury. Whereas, if the land were inhabited and cultivated, from it and from the dwellings of the inhabitants would arise exhalations, that is, warm and dry fumes; furthermore, the sun would find it prepared to feel its rays, and to scatter the cold and fogs; this was very evident to us from actual observation. For upon the small part which we ploughed, the snow always melted sooner than upon the other parts, and from there, the fogs usually began to scatter, and little by little to disappear.

CHAPITRE III.

[26] DES TERRES, DE LEURS PEUPLES, & DE CE QU'Y ABONDE.

LES terres, à mon aduis, principalement en la Norambegue, ſont auſſi bonnes qu'en France: cela cognoiſſez-vous à leur couleur noire, aux arbres hauts, puiſſants, & droicts, qu'elles nourriſſent, aux herbes & foin auſſi haut ſouuent qu'vn homme, & choſes ſemblables. A S. Sauueur, nous auions ſemé à la my-Iuin des grains, des pepins, des poix, des febues, & toutes ſortes d'herbes de jardinage. Trois mois apres, c'eſt à ſçauoir, à la my-Septẽbre, nous reuinſmes voir noſtre labourage: le froment n'apparoiſſoit point (auſſi auoit-il eſté ſemé hors de ſaiſon,) l'orge eſtoit eſpié, mais non pas meur, les pois & faiſoles bonnes parfaictement, mais encores vertes, les febues [27] n'eſtoyent qu'en fleur: tout le reſte eſtoit admirablement biẽ venu, meſmement les oignons, & ciboules, les pepins auoyent ietté, les aucuns d'vn pied tout entier, les moindres d'vn demy pied.

Ie vous ay dit cy deuant, que tout le pays n'eſt qu'vne perpetuelle foreſt: car il n'a rien d'ouuert ſinon les marges de la mer, les lacs & riuieres & où le flux de la mer, & des riuieres ſe deſbordants cauſent des prairies, il y a quelques tels endroits bien beaux, & vaſtes en herbage, & paſturages, comme eſt la Baye de Chinictou, & la riuiere de Port Royal, & autres. Mais icy faut eſuiter vne illuſion, de laquelle pluſieurs

CHAPTER III.

[26] ON THE SOIL, TRIBES AND VEGETATION.

THE soil, it seems to me, principally in Norambegue, is as good as that of France; you know this by its black color, by the high trees, strong and straight, which it nourishes, by the plants and grasses, often as high as a man, and similar things. At St. Sauveur, in the middle of June, we planted some grain, fruit seeds, peas, beans, and all kinds of garden plants. Three months afterwards, i. e., in the middle of September, we returned to see the results of our husbandry; the wheat had not come up (it was not sown in season) the barley was tufted, but not ripe, the peas and phasels perfectly good, but still green, the beans [27] were only in blossom; all the rest had come up admirably, even the onions and scallions; the fruit seeds had shot up, some a whole foot, the lowest ones a half a foot high.

I have said before that the whole country is simply an interminable forest; for there are no open places except upon the margins of the sea, lakes, and rivers, and where meadows have been made by the overflows of the sea and rivers; there are many such places which are very beautiful, immense fields of grass and pasture, like those near Chinictou Bay, and the river of Port Royal, and others. But here we must avoid an illusion by which many have been inadvertently imposed upon. For hearing those who come from foreign countries tell about their wealth

par meſgarde ſont abuſez. Car oyants parler ceux qui viennent de pays loingtains, & qui en racõtent les biens, & fertilité prou ſouuent auec amplification, (car [28] ainſi penſent-ils deuoir faire pour eſtre plus attentiuemẽt eſcoutez.) Ils eſtimẽt que ce qu'on leur magnifie de ces pays, ſe trouue tout par tout abondamment. Comme par exẽple, qui parlant de la Frãce diroit, Qu'il y a veu les bois & foreſts n'eſtre to⁹ que chaſtagniers, orẽgiers & oliuiers, que poiriers & pommiers, tous ſi charges qu'ils en rõpoiẽt: certes celui-là diroit vray, car il eſt ainſi. L'eſtrangier neantmoins eſcoutãt y ſeroit trõpé: parce qu'il s'imagineroit qu'ẽ tous les quartiers de la Frãce, ou en la pluſpart, tout cela ſe trouue: Et ne cõſidereroit pas, que les chaſtagniers ſont en Perigord, à cent lieuës des orangiers, qui ſont en Prouence; & les pommiers ſont au pays de Caux en Normãdie, à cent lieües des chaſtagniers, & à deux cents des oliuiers. Or quand le pays eſt bien peuplé, & habité ainſi qu'eſt la France, ceſte recommandation [29] monſtre grand heur, parce qu'au moyen du charroy & commerce, on ſe communique toutes ces opulences; mais en vn pays inculte & non ciuiliſé, comme eſt Canada, il n'y a guiere plus de difference, que s'il n'y auoit qu'vne choſe en vn lieu. Ie dy cecy parce que ceſte prudence importe de beaucoup à ceux qui vont defricher nouuelles contrées, ainſi que nous autres François y allons volontiers à yeux clos, & teſte baiſſée: croyants par exẽple, qu'eſtants en Canada, & ayants faim nous ne ferons qu'aller en vn' Iſle, & là eſcrimãts d'vn gros baſton à dextre, & à feneſtre, autant de coups, autant arreſterons nous d'oiſeaux, deſquels chacun vaudra bien vn canart. Voila qui eſt bien dit, & ainſi l'ont fait nos gens plus

and fertility, very often with exaggeration (for [28] thus they think they will get a better hearing), they suppose that the things boasted about in these countries are found everywhere in abundance. As, for example, if some one were speaking of France, he might say that he had seen groves and forests of nothing but chestnut, orange, olive, pear, and apple trees, so loaded that they were breaking down; indeed, he could say this truthfully, for it is so. But the stranger hearing this would be deceived by it; for he would suppose that in all parts of France, or in nearly all, he would find this condition of things; not taking into consideration the fact that the chestnuts are in Perigord, a hundred leagues away from the oranges, which are in Provence; and the apples are in the region of Caux in Normandy, a hundred leagues from the chestnuts and two hundred from the olives. Now when the country is well peopled and settled, as France is, this favorable representation [29] may show great good fortune, for, by means of transportation and trade, all these riches can be interchanged; but in an uncultivated and uncivilized country, like Canada, it makes no more difference than if they only had one thing in a place. I say this because prudence is of great importance to those who go to clear new lands, as we Frenchmen are so willing to go there with our eyes shut and our heads down; believing, for example, that in Canada, when we are hungry, all we will have to do is to go to an Island, and there by the skillful use of a club, right and left, we can bring down birds each as big as a duck, with every blow. This is well said, as our people have done this more than once and in more than one place. It is all very well, if you [30] are never hungry except

que d'vne fois, & plus qu'en vn lieu. Cela va fort bien, ſi vous [30] n'auiés iamais faim ſinon au tẽps que ces oiſeaux ſe trouuent en ces Iſles, & ſi lors meſme vous eſtiez proches d'eux. Car ſi vous en eſtes à cinquante, ou ſoixante lieuës, que ferez vous?

Pour reuenir à mon propos, il n'y a point de difficulté de rencõtrer vn bon endroit en vne choſe. Vn bon & bel haure: des belles prairies, vn ſol bien fecond; vne colline de bel aſpect, vne agreable riuiere, ou ruiſſeau, &c. Mais lotir vne place, où toutes les qualitez deſirables vniment ſe r'aſſemblent, ce n'eſt pas la bonne fortune d'vn homme prattiquant, dit tres bien Ariſtote; ains le project & idee d'vn ſagement enquerãt: car en fin en la practique, le bõ ſort & perfection d'vne place, cõme d'vn homme, ce n'eſt pas que rien ne manque, ains que rien d'eſſentiel, & principal ne manque. [31] C'eſt ce qui m'a fait dire, que le tout conſideré, le prenant tant pour tant, i'eſtime que les terres de là, vaudroyent celles d'icy, quand elles ſeroyent bien cultiuees: mais nous voudrions, que là tout fuſt en vn petit deſtroit: ce que meſmes nous ne trouuons pas icy en vn bien ample Royaume, apres ſi long temps de cultiuage.

En pluſieurs endroits nous auons trouué de la vigne, & des lambruches meures en leur tẽps. Ce n'eſtoit point le meilleur terroir où nous les trouuiõs: c'eſtoit quaſi ſable, & grauier, sẽblable à celuy de Bourdeaux. Il y en a beaucoup à la riuiere S. Iean à 46. d'eleuation, là void on auſſi pluſieurs noyers & coudriers, & ſi le fõds de terre n'y eſt guiere bõ. On ne trouue point autre ſorte d'arbres fruictiers en tout ce païs, ouy biẽ toute eſpece de ſauuageons, & foreſtiers, comme [32] cheſnes, heſtres, charmes, peu-

when these birds are on the Islands, and if even then you happen to be near them. But if you are fifty or sixty leagues away, what are you going to do?

To return to my theme. There is no difficulty in finding a place that is good for one thing — a good and beautiful harbor; fine meadows and a very fertile soil; a picturesque hill, a pleasant river, or brook, etc. But to choose a place where all desirable qualities are united, is not the good fortune of an ordinary man, as Aristotle truthfully says, but the purpose and idea of a wise investigator: for, after all, the uses, success, and perfection of a place, as of a man, is not really that it be complete, but that there be no lack of what is essential and important. [31] That is why I say that all things considered, and taking it upon the whole, I believe that the country over there will be worth as much as this one, after it is well cultivated; but we should prefer that there everything be in a small space, which we ourselves do not find here in our extensive Kingdom, after so long a period of cultivation.

In several places we found the grape, and wild vines which ripened in their season. It was not the best ground where we found them, being full of sand and gravel, like that of Bourdeaux. There are a great many of these vines at St. John river, in 46° of latitude, where are to be seen also many walnut and hazel trees, and yet the under layer of soil is not good there. No other kinds of fruit trees are found in all this country, but there is every species of wild shrub and forest trees, such as [32] the oak, beech, elm, poplar, etc., and some cedars, at least what the French call cedars.[14]

If the country were inhabited there might be some

pliers, &c. Et des cedres, au moins que les François appellẽt cedres.

Si le pays eſtoit habité, il pourroit approfiter ſes mines: car il y en a vne d'argent en la Baye S. Marie, au rapport du ſieur Chãplain: & deux de beau, & franc cuiure, l'vne à l'entrée de Port Royal, & l'autre à la Baye des mines: vne de fer à la riuiere S. Iean, & d'autres autre part. Le gré, l'ardoiſe, la taille, le charbon de terre, & toutes ſortes de pierres n'y manquent pas.

Toute ceſte nouuelle France eſt diuiſée en diuers peuples, chaſque peuple a ſa langue, & ſa contrée à part. Ils s'aſſemblent l'Eſté pour trocquer auec nous, principalement en la grande riuiere. Là auſſi viennent de bien loing pluſieurs autres peuples. Ils trocquẽt leurs peaux de caſtors, de loutres, [33] d'eſlants, de martres, de loups marins, &c. contre du pain, pois, febues, pruneaux, petun, &c. chauderons, haches, fers de fleche, aleines, poinçons, capots, couuertes, & toutes autres telles commoditez, que les Frãçois leur apportent. Aucuns peuples ont maintenant implacable guerre contre nous. Comme les Excomminquois, qui ſont ceux qui habitent au coſté Boreal du grand Golfe S. Laurens, & nous font de grands maux. Ceſte guerre a cõmencé (comme lon dit) à l'occaſion de certains Baſques, qui voulurent faire vn meſchant rapt: mais ils payerẽt biẽ leur maudite incontinence, & non ſeulement eux, ains à leur occaſion & ceux de S. Malo, & beaucoup d'autres ont paty, & patiſſent beaucoup tous les ans. Car ces Sauuages sõt furieux, & s'abandonnent deſeſperémẽt [34] à la mort, pourueu qu'ils ayent eſperance de tuer, ou meſfaire. Il n'y a que trois peuples qui nous ſoyẽt

profit made from its mines; for there is a silver one at the Baye Ste. Marie, according to sieur Champlain; and two of beautiful and pure copper, one at the entrance to Port Royal, and the other at the Bay of the mines; one of iron at the river St. John, and others elsewhere. Sandstone, slate, mica, coal, and all kinds of stone are not lacking.[15]

All this new France is divided into different tribes, each one having its own separate language and country. They assemble in the Summer to trade with us, principally at the great river. To this place come also several other tribes from afar off. They barter their skins of beaver, otter, [33] deer, marten, seal, etc., for bread, peas, beans, prunes, tobacco, etc.; kettles, hatchets, iron arrow-points, awls, puncheons, cloaks, blankets, and all other such commodities as the French bring them. Certain tribes are now our implacable enemies, such as the Excomminquois, who inhabit the Northern coast of the great Gulf of St. Lawrence and do us a great deal of harm. This warfare was begun (as they say) when certain Basques tried to commit a wicked outrage. However, they paid well for their cursed incontinence, but not only they, for on their account both the St. Malo people and many others suffered, and still suffer a great deal every year. For these Savages are passionate, and give themselves up [34] to death with desperation, if they are in hopes of killing, or doing any one an injury. There are only three tribes which are on good terms of friendship with us, the Montaguets, the Souriquois, and the Eteminquois. I myself can witness to the friendship of the Etechemins and Souriquois, for I have lived among them, and for the Montaguets I have heard others speak. As to other tribes,

familiers, & bõs amis. Les Montaguets, les Souriquois, & les Eteminquois. Pour les Etechemins, & Souriquois i'en ſuis teſmoin, car i'ay demeuré parmy eux, pour les Montaguets i'en ay ouy parler. Quant aux autres peuples, il n'y a point de fiance. Auſſi les François ne les hantent, que pour deſcouurir leurs riuages, & encores s'en ſont-ils mal trouués, horſmis Champlain en ſes dernieres deſcouuertes contremont la grãde riuiere, qui ne s'en plaint point.

Ceſt'amitié & fidelité deſdits peuples enuers les François a paru remarquablement apres noſtre deſroute faicte par les Anglois, ainſi qu'ouyrez. Car eux l'ayants ſceu s'en vindrẽt à nous de nuict, [35] & nous cõſoloyẽt au mieux qu'ils pouuoyent, nous preſentãts leurs cauots, & leur peine pour nous conduire où nous voudrions. Ils nous offroyent encores, que s'il nous plaiſoit de demeurer auec eux, ils eſtoyent trois Capitaines Betſabes, Aguigueou & Aſticou: deſquels vn chacun prẽdroit pour ſa part dix de noſtre troupe, (puis que nous reſtions trente,) & nous nourriroit iuſques à l'an ſuiuant, quand les nauires Françoiſes arriueroyent à la coſte, & qu'en ceſte façon nous pourrions repaſſer en noſtre pays ſans tõber aux mains de meſchãts Ingrés. Car ainſi appellẽt-ils pour dire les Anglois. Ce n'eſtoyent point mines, ou pieges à nous ſurprendre: car vous entendrés cy apres le bon traictement qu'ils firent au P. Enemond, & à ſa troupe, & à Port Royal durant trois hyuers, qu'on a eu bon [36] beſoin d'eux, on les a experimenté fideles & ſecourables. Que ſi leur deſſein euſt eſté de nous mesfaire, les belles & opportunes occaſions ne leur ont pas manqué.

no confidence can be placed in them. The French have nothing to do with them except to explore their coasts, and even then they are badly treated, although Champlain does not complain of these savages at all, in his latest explorations up the great river.

This friendship and fidelity of the said tribes was especially noticeable after our rout by the English, as you will hear. For, as soon as they heard about it, they came to us at night, [35] and consoled us as best they could, offering us their canoes and their help to take us anywhere we wished to go. They also made the proposition, that if we wanted to live with them, there were three Captains — Betsabes, Aguigueou and Asticou,[16] each one of whom, for his share, would take ten of our band (since there were thirty of us left), and would take care of us until the following year, when the French ships would arrive upon the coast; and that in this way we should be able to go back to our own country without falling into the hands of the wicked Ingrés, as they call the English. These were not false pretenses nor snares to entrap us, for you will hear farther on of the good treatment received from them by Father Enemond and his band; and at Port Royal during three winters, when we had great [36] need of them, how faithful and reliable we found them, — although, if they had intended to do us any harm, excellent and convenient opportunities for doing so were not wanting.

CHAPITRE IV.

DU NATUREL DES SAUUAGES, DE LEURS HABITS, HABITATIONS, & VIURE.

LE naturel de nos Sauuages eſt de ſoy liberal, & point malitieux: ils ont l'eſprit aſſez gaillard & net, quant à l'eſtime, & iugement des choſes ſenſibles, & communes & deduiſent fort gentiment leurs raiſons, les aſſaiſonnant touſiours auec quelque iolie ſimilitude. Ils ont fort bonne memoire des choſes corporelles, cõme de vous auoir veu, des qualitez d'vne place, où ils auront eſté, [37] de ce qui aura eſté fait deuãt eux, deſpuis vingt & trente ans, &c. Mais d'apprendre par cœur, là eſt l'eſcueil: il n'y a moyen de leur mettre dans la caboche vne tirade rengée de paroles. Ils n'ont point de barbe, autant peu les hõmes que les fẽmes, horſmis quelques vns plus robuſtes, & virils. Souuent ils m'ont dit, q̃ nous leur ſemblions du commencemẽt fort laids, auec nos cheueux, auſſi bien ſur la bouche que deſſus la teſte: mais peu à peu ils s'accouſtument, & nous commençons à ne plus leur paroiſtre ſi difformes. Vous ne ſçauriez recognoiſtre les ieunes garçõs d'auec les ieunes filles, ſinon à la façon de ſe ceindre. Parce que les femmes ſe ceignẽt deſſus & deſſous le ventre, & ſont plus couuertes que les maſles: elles ſont auſſi d'ordinaire plus parées de matachias: c'eſt à dire, de [38] chaines, & affiquets, & ſemblables parures à leur mode: à ce que vous ſçachiez que par

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE CHARACTER, DRESS, DWELLINGS, AND FOOD OF THE SAVAGES.

THE nature of our Savages is in itself generous and not malicious. They have rather a happy disposition, and a fair capacity for judging and valuing material and common things, deducing their reasons with great nicety, and always seasoning them with some pretty comparison. They have a very good memory for material things, such as having seen you before, of the peculiarities of a place where they may have been, [37] of what took place in their presence twenty or thirty years before, etc.; but to learn anything by heart — there's the rock; there is no way of getting a consecutive arrangement of words into their pates. They have no beards, the men no more than the women, except some of the more robust and virile. They have often told me that at first we seemed to them very ugly with hair both upon our mouths and heads; but gradually they have become accustomed to it, and now we are beginning to look less deformed. You could not distinguish the young men from the girls, except in their way of wearing their belts. For the women are girdled both above and below the stomach, and are less nude than the men; also they are usually more ornamented with matachias, that is, with [38] chains, gewgaws, and such finery after their fashion; by which you may know that such is the nature of the sex everywhere, fond of

tout telle eſt la nature du ſexe, amoureuſe d'embelliſſemẽt. Vniuerſellemẽt parlant ils ſont de taille vn peu moindre que nous, principalemẽt quant à l'eſpaiſſeur: Belle toutesfois & bien prinſe, comme ſi nous demeurions en l'eſtat qu'auons à l'age de vingt & cinq ans. Vous ne rẽcõtreriez point entr'eux vn vẽtru, boſſu, ny contre-fait: ladres, gouteux, piereux, inſenſés, ils ne ſçauent que c'eſt: ceux d'entre nous qui ſont tarez, comme borgnes, louſches, camus, &c. ſont auſſi toſt remarqués par eux, & mocqués largement, ſpecialemẽt par derriere, & quand ils ſont entr'eux: car ils ſont bons compagnons, & ont le mot & ſobriquet à commandement, fort aiſes quand ils ſe penſent auoir occaſion de [39] nous meſpriſer. Et certes (à ce que ie vois) c'eſt vne contagion dont perſonne n'eſt exempte que par la miſericorde de Dieu: que de ſe trop eſtimer ſoy-meſme. Vous verriez ces pauures barbares, nonobſtant leurs ſi grands manquements de police, de puiſſance, de lettres, d'arts & de richeſſe: neãtmoins tenir ſi grãd compte d'eux, qu'ils nous en déprisẽt beaucoup, ſe magnifiants par deſſus nous.

Leurs habits ſont chamarrés de peaux, que les femmes paſſent, & conroyent du coſté, qui n'eſt pas velu: elles conroyent ſouuent les peaux d'elan de tous les deux coſtés, comme noſtre buffetin, puis le barricolent de peinture en forme de paſſements bien ioliment, & en font des robes: de ces meſmes peaux elles leur font des ſouliers, & des greues. Les maſles ne portent point de hauts [40] de chauſſes, parce que (diſent-ils) cela les entraue trop, & met comme aux ceps, ils portent ſeulemẽt vn linge au deuãt de leur nature, l'Eſté ils vſent fort de nos capots, & l'Hyuer

adornment. Generally speaking, they are of lighter build than we are; but handsome and well-shaped, just as we would be if we continued in the same condition in which we were at the age of twenty-five. You do not encounter a big-bellied, hunchbacked, or deformed person among them: those who are leprous, gouty, affected with gravel, or insane, are unknown to them. Any of our people who have some defect, such as the one-eyed, squint-eyed, and flat-nosed, are immediately noticed by them and greatly derided, especially behind our backs and when they are by themselves. For they are droll fellows, and have a word and a nickname very readily at command, if they think they have any occasion to [39] look down upon us. And certainly (judging from what I see) this habit of self-aggrandizement is a contagion from which no one is exempt, except through the grace of God. You will see these poor barbarians, notwithstanding their great lack of government, power, letters, art and riches, yet holding their heads so high that they greatly underrate us, regarding themselves as our superiors.

Their clothes are trimmed with leather lace, which the women dress and curry on the side which is not hairy. They often curry both sides of elk skin, like our buff skin, then variegate it very prettily with paint put on in a lace-like pattern, and make gowns of it; from the same leather they make their shoes and strings. The men do not wear [40] trousers, because (they say) they hinder them too much, and place them as it were, in chains; they wear only a piece of cloth over their middle; in Summer they often wear our capes, and in Winter our bed-blankets, which they improve with trimming and wear double.

de nos couuertes de licts, leſquelles ils s'accommodent en chamarre les redoublants: ils s'aident auſſi fort volontiers de nos chapeaux, ſouliers, bonnets de laine, chemiſes, & du linge, pour nettoyer leurs enfants de maillot, car on leur trocque toutes ces denrees contre leurs peaux.

Quelque part qu'ils ſoyent arriués, la premiere choſe c'eſt de faire du feu, & ſe cabaner, ce qu'ils ont faict dans vn heure, ou deux: ſouuent en demy heure. Les femmes vont au bois, & en apportent des perches, leſquelles on diſpoſe par en bas en rond à lentour du feu; & par en haut on les enfourche entr'elles pyramidalement, [41] de maniere qu'elles ſe repoſent l'vne contre l'autre droit au deſſus du feu; car là eſt la cheminée. Sur les perches on iette des peaux, ou bien des nattes, ou des eſcorces. Au pied des perches deſſous les peaux ſe mettent les ſacs. Toute la place à l'entour du feu eſt ionchée de fueilles de pin, à fin de ne ſentir l'humidité de la terre: deſſus les fueilles de ſapin ils iettẽt ſouuẽt des nattes ou des peaux de loup marin auſſi delicates que le velours; là deſſus ils s'eſtendent à l'entour du feu ayant la teſte ſur leurs ſacs. Et ce qu'on ne croiroit pas, ils ſont tres-chaudement leans dedans à petit feu, voire aux plus grandes rigueurs de l'Hiuer. Ils ne ſe cabanẽt point, qu'aupres de quelque bonne eau, & en lieu de plaiſant aſpect. En Eſté leurs logis changent de figure: car ils les font larges & longs, [42] à fin d'auoir plus d'air; auſſi les couurent-ils lors quaſi d'eſcorces, ou de nattes, faictes de roſeaux tendres, & ſont beaucoup plus minces & delicates que les noſtres de paille, ſi artiſtement tiſſuës, que quand elles pendẽt, l'eau coule tout au long, ſans point les percer.

They are also quite willing to make use of our hats, shoes, caps, woolens and shirts, and of our linen to clean their infants, for we trade them all these commodities for their furs.

Arrived at a certain place, the first thing they do is to build a fire and arrange their camp, which they have finished in an hour or two; often in half an hour. The women go to the woods and bring back some poles which are stuck into the ground in a circle around the fire, and at the top are interlaced, in the form of a pyramid, [41] so that they come together directly over the fire, for there is the chimney. Upon the poles they throw some skins, matting or bark. At the foot of the poles, under the skins, they put their baggage. All the space around the fire is strewn with leaves of the fir tree, so they will not feel the dampness of the ground; over these leaves are often thrown some mats, or sealskins as soft as velvet; upon this they stretch themselves around the fire with their heads resting upon their baggage; And, what no one would believe, they are very warm in there around that little fire, even in the greatest rigors of the Winter. They do not camp except near some good water, and in an attractive location. In Summer the shape of their houses is changed; for then they are broad and long, [42] that they may have more air; then they nearly always cover them with bark, or mats made of tender reeds, finer and more delicate than ours made of straw, and so skillfully woven, that when they are hung up the water runs along their surface without penetrating them.

Their food is whatever they can get from the chase and from fishing; for they do not till the soil at all; but the paternal providence of our good God, which

Leur viure eſt ce que la chaſſe, & la peſche leur donnent: car ils ne labourent point: mais la prouidence paternelle de noſtre bon Dieu, laquelle n'abandonne pas les paſſereaux meſmes, n'a point laiſſé ces pauures creatures, capables de luy, ſans prouiſiõ cõuenable, qui leur eſt comme par eſtape, aſſignee à chaſque lune, car ils cõtent par Lunes, & en mettẽt treze en l'an: Par exemple donc, en Ianuier ils ont la chaſſe des loups marins: car ceſt animal, quoy qu'il ſoit aquatique, fraye neantmoins [43] ſur certaines Iſles enuiron ce temps. La chair en eſt auſſi bõne q̃ du veau; & de plus ils font de ſa graiſſe vn'huyle, qui leur ſert de ſauſſe toute l'annee, ils en rẽpliſſent pluſieurs veſſies d'orignac, qui ſont deux ou trois fois plus amples & fortes que les noſtres de porc; & voila leurs tonneaux de reſerue. En ce meſme mois de Feurier, & iuſques à la my-Mars, eſt la grande chaſſe des Caſtors, loutres, orignacs, ours (qui ſont fort bons) & des caribous, animal moitié aſne, moitié cerf. Si le tẽps leur dit, ils viuent lors en grand'abondance, & ſont auſſi fiers que Princes & Roys; mais s'il leur eſt contraire, c'eſt grãde pitié d'eux, & ſouuent meurent de miſerable faim. Le temps leur eſt contraire, quand il pleut beaucoup, & ne gele pas; parce que lors ils ne peuuent chaſſer ny aux eſlans, ny aux [44] caſtors. Item, quand il nege beaucoup, & ne gele pas là deſſus, car ils ne peuuent pas mener leurs chiens à la chaſſe, pource qu'ils enfoncẽt dedans, ce qu'ils ne font pas eux, parce qu'ils s'attachent des raquettes aux pieds à l'aide deſquelles ils demeurent deſſus; ſi ne peuuent-ils tant courir qu'il faudroit, la nege eſtãt trop molle. Autres tels miſerables accidents leur arriuent, qui ſeroyent longs à raconter.

does not forsake even the sparrow, has not left these poor creatures, worthy of his care, without proper provision, which is to them like fixed rations assigned to every moon; for they count by Moons, and put thirteen of them in a year. Now, for example, in January they have the seal hunting: for this animal, although it is aquatic, nevertheless spawns [43] upon certain Islands about this time. Its flesh is as good as veal; and furthermore they make of its fat an oil, which serves them as sauce throughout the year; they fill several moose-bladders with it, which are two or three times as large and strong as our pig-bladders; and in these you see their reserve casks. Likewise in the month of February and until the middle of March, is the great hunt for Beavers, otters, moose, bears (which are very good), and for the caribou,[17] an animal half ass and half deer. If the weather then is favorable, they live in great abundance, and are as haughty as Princes and Kings; but if it is against them, they are greatly to be pitied, and often die of starvation. The weather is against them if it rains a great deal, and does not freeze; for then they can hunt neither deer nor [44] beavers. Also, when it snows a great deal, and does not freeze over, for then they cannot put their dogs upon the chase, because they sink down; the savages themselves do not do this, for they wear snowshoes on their feet which help them to stay on top; yet they cannot run as fast as would be necessary, the snow being too soft. They have other misfortunes of this kind which it would be tedious to relate.

In the middle of March, fish begin to spawn, and to come up from the sea into certain streams, often so abundantly that everything swarms with them.

Sur la my Mars le poiſſon commence à frayer, & monter de la mer en haut contre certains ruiſſeaux, ſouuent en ſi grand' abondance, que tout en formille. A peine le croiroit, qui ne l'auroit veu. On ne ſçauroit mettre la main dans l'eau, qu'on ne rencõtre proye. Entre ces poiſſons l'eplan eſt le premier: ceſt eplan eſt deux & trois fois plus grand que [45] n'eſt le noſtre de riuiere: apres l'eplan ſuit le harenc à la fin d'Auril, & au meſme temps les outardes arriuent du Midy, qui ſont groſſes cannes au double des noſtres, & ſont volontiers leurs nids aux Iſles. Deux œufs d'outarde en valent richement cinq de poule. A meſme termoyement vient l'eſtourgeon, & le ſaumon, & la grande queſte des œufs par les Iſletes, car les oiſeaux peſcherets, qui ſont là en treſ grande foiſon, pondent lors, & ſouuent couurẽt de leurs nids ces Iſlettes. Dés le mois de May iuſques à la my-Septembre, ils ſont hors de tout eſmoy pour leur viure: car les mouluës ſont à la coſte, toute ſorte de poiſſon & coquillage; & les nauires François auec leſquels ils trocquent; & ſçauez vous s'ils entendent bien à ſe faire courtiſer. Ils tranchent des freres auecques [46] le Roy, & ne leur faut rien rabbattre de toute la piece. Il faut leur faire des preſents, & les bien harãguer auant qu'ils accordent la traicte; & icelle faicte, faut encores les Tabagier, c'eſt à dire, les banqueter. Alors ils danſeront, harangueront & chanteront *Adeſquidex*, *Adeſquidex*, Sçauoir eſt, qu'ils ſont les bons amys, alliés, aſſociés, confederés, & comperes du Roy, & des François.

Le gibier d'eau y abonde; celuy de terre non, ſinon à certain temps les oiſeaux paſſagiers, comme outardes & oyes griſes & blãches. On y trouue des per-

Any one who has not seen it could scarcely believe it. You cannot put your hand into the water, without encountering them. Among these fish the smelt is the first; this smelt is two and three times as large as [45] that in our rivers; after the smelt comes the herring at the end of April; and at the same time bustards, which are large ducks, double the size of ours, come from the South and eagerly make their nests upon the Islands. Two bustard eggs are fully equal to five hen's eggs. At the same time come the sturgeon, and salmon, and the great search through the Islets for eggs, as the waterfowl, which are there in great numbers, lay their eggs then, and often cover the Islets with their nests. From the month of May up to the middle of September, they are free from all anxiety about their food; for the cod are upon the coast, and all kinds of fish and shellfish; and the French ships with which they traffic, and you may be sure they understand how to make themselves courted. They set themselves up for brothers of [46] the King, and it is not expected that they will withdraw in the least from the whole farce. Gifts must be presented and speeches made to them, before they condescend to trade; this done, they must have the Tabagie, i.e. the banquet. Then they will dance, make speeches and sing *Adesquidex, Adesquidex*, That is, that they are good friends, allies, associates, confederates, and comrades of the King and of the French.

Water game abounds there, but not forest game, except at certain times birds of passage, like bustards and gray and white geese. There are to be found there gray partridges, which have beautiful long tails and are twice as large as ours; there are a great many wild pigeons, which come to eat raspberries in the

drix griſes, qui ont vne fort belle queuë, & ſont deux fois plus groſſes que les noſtres; on y voit force tourtes, qui viennent manger les frãboiſes au mois de Iuillet. Pluſieurs oiſeaux de proye & quelques lapins & leuraux.

[47] Or nos ſauuages ſur la my-Septembre ſe retirent de la mer, hors la portée du flux, aux petites riuieres, où les anguilles frayent & en font prouiſion, elles ſont bõnes & graſſes. En Octobre & Nouembre eſt la ſeconde chaſſe des caſtors & des eſlans: & puis en Decembre (admirable prouidence de Dieu) vient vn poiſſon appellé d'eux *ponamo*, qui fraye ſous la glace; Item lors les tortues font leurs petits, &c. Tels donc mais en bien plus grand nombre ſont les reuenus, & cenſiues de nos Sauuages, telle leur table & entretiẽ, le tout cotté & aſſigné chaſque choſe en ſon endroit & quartier. Iamais Salomon n'euſt ſon hoſtel mieux ordonné & policé en viuandiers, que le ſont ces penſions & les voicturiers d'icelles. Auſſi vn plus grand que Salomon les a conſtitués. A luy ſoit gloire à tout'eternité.

[48] Pour bien iouyr de ce leur appanage; nos ſyluicoles s'en vont ſur les lieux d'iceluy auec le plaiſir de peregrinatiõ & de proumenade, à quoy facilement faire ils ont l'engin, & la grande commodité des cauots qui ſont petits eſquifs faicts d'eſcorce de bouleau, eſtroits & reſſerrés par les deux bouts, comme la creſte d'vn morion; le corps eſt en façon de berceau large, & ventru; Ils ſont lõgs de huict, ou dix pieds; au reſte ſi capables, que dans vn ſeul logera tout vn meſnage de cinq, ou ſix perſonnes auec tous leurs chiens, ſacs, peaux, chauderons & autre bagage bien peſant. Et le bon eſt qu'il prennent terre, où

month of July, also several birds of prey and some rabbits and hares.

[47] Now our savages in the middle of September withdraw from the sea, beyond the reach of the tide, to the little rivers, where the eels spawn, of which they lay in a supply; they are good and fat. In October and November comes the second hunt for elks and beavers; and then in December (wonderful providence of God) comes a fish called by them *ponamo*,[18] which spawns under the ice. Also then the turtles bear little ones, etc. These then, but in a still greater number, are the revenues and incomes of our Savages; such, their table and living, all prepared and assigned, everything to its proper place and quarter. Never had Solomon his mansion better regulated and provided with food, than are these homes and their landlords. But then a greater one than Solomon has made them; to him be the glory through all eternity.

[48] In order to thoroughly enjoy this, their lot, our foresters start off to their different places with as much pleasure as if they were going on a stroll or an excursion; they do this easily through the skillful use and great convenience of canoes, which are little skiffs made of birch-bark, narrow and closed at both ends, like the crest of a morion; the body is like a large hollow cradle; they are eight or ten feet long; moreover so capacious that a single one of them will hold an entire household of five or six persons, with all their dogs, sacks, skins, kettles, and other heavy baggage. And the best part of it is that they can land wherever they like, which we cannot do with our shallops or sailing boats; for the most heavily-loaded canoe can draw only half a foot of water, and un-

leur plaiſt, ce que nous ne pouuõs faire auec nos chaloupes ou bateaux mariniers; parce que le cauot le plus chargé ne ſçauroit cueillir demy pied d'eau, & deſchargé il eſt ſi [49] leger, que vous le fouſpeſeriés facilement, & tranſporteriez de la main gauche; ſi viſte à l'auiron qu'à voſtre bel-aiſe de bon temps vous ferés en vn iour les trente, & quarente lieuës: neantmoins on ne voit guieres ces Sauuages poſtilonner ainſi: car leurs iournees ne ſont tout que beau paſſetemps. Ils n'ont iamais haſte. Bien diuers de nous, qui ne ſçaurions iamais rien faire ſans preſſe & oppreſſe; oppreſſe di je, parce que noſtre deſir nous tyranniſe & bannit la paix de nos actions.

loaded it is so [49] light that you can easily pick it up and carry it away with your left hand; so rapidly sculled that, without any effort, in good weather you can make thirty or forty leagues a day; nevertheless we scarcely see these Savages posting along at this rate, for their days are all nothing but pastime. They are never in a hurry. Quite different from us, who can never do anything without hurry and worry; worry, I say, because our desire tyrannizes over us and banishes peace from our actions.

CHAPITRE V.

LA POLICE & GOUUERNEMENT DES SAUUAGES.

ON ne peut auoir plus de police, que de Communauté, [50] puis que police n'eſt autre, que l'ordre & regime de la Communauté. Or ces Sauuages n'ayants point grande Communauté ny en nõbre de perſonnes, puis qu'ils ſont rares, ny en biens, puis qu'ils ſont pauures, ne viuans qu'au iour à la iournee, ny en lien & conionction, puis qu'ils ſont eſpars, & vagabonds, ils ne peuuent auoir grande police. Si ne peuuent-ils s'en paſſer, puis qu'ils ſont hõmes & aſſociés. Celle donc qu'ils ont, eſt telle. Il y a le Sagamo, qui eſt l'aiſné de quelque puiſſante famille, qui par conſequent auſſi en eſt le chef & conducteur. Tous les ieunes gents de la famille, ſont à la table & ſuitte d'iceluy; auſſi eſt-ce à luy d'entretenir des chiens pour la chaſſe, & des cauots pour les voituriers, & des prouiſions, & reſerues pour le mauuais temps, & voyages. Les ieunes gens le [51] courtiſent, chaſſent, & font leur apprentiſſage ſous luy, incapables de rien auoir auant qu'eſtre mariés: car lors ſeulemẽt ils peuuent auoir chien & ſac: c'eſt à dire, auoir du propre, & faire pour ſoy, toutesfois ils demeurent encores ſous l'authorité du Sagamo, & le plus ſouuent en ſa compagnie, comm'auſſi pluſieurs autres, qui manquent de parents, ou encores qui de leur propre gré ſe rangent ſous ſa protection, & conduicte, pour eſtre foibles d'eux-meſmes, & ſans ſuitte.

CHAPTER V.

THE POLITY AND GOVERNMENT OF THE SAVAGES.

THERE can be no more polity than there is Commonwealth, [50] since polity is nothing else than the regulation and government of the Commonwealth. Now these Savages not having a great Commonwealth, either in number of people, since they are few; nor in wealth, since they are poor, only living from hand to mouth; nor in ties and bonds of union, since they are scattered and wandering; cannot have great polity. Yet they cannot do without it since they are men and brethren. So what they have is this. There is the Sagamore, who is the eldest son of some powerful family, and consequently also its chief and leader. All the young people of the family are at his table and in his retinue; it is also his duty to provide dogs for the chase, canoes for transportation, provisions and reserves for bad weather and expeditions. The young people [51] flatter him, hunt, and serve their apprenticeship under him, not being allowed to have anything before they are married, for then only can they have a dog and a bag; that is, have something of their own, and do for themselves. Nevertheless they continue to live under the authority of the Sagamore, and very often in his company; as also do several others who have no relations, or those who of their own free will place themselves under his protection and guidance, being themselves weak and without a following. Now all that the

Tout ce donc que les garçons conqueſtẽt, appartient au Sagamo: mais les mariés ne luy en donnent qu'vne partie, que ſi ces mariés ſe departant d'auecques luy, cõm'il le faut ſouuent pour la commodité de la chaſſe, & du viure, retournants apres ils payent leur recognoiſſance, & hommage en peaux, & [52] ſemblables preſents. A ceſte cauſe il y a des querelles, & des ialouſies entr'eux auſſi bien qu'entre nous, mais non pas ſi atroces. Quand quelqu'vn par exemple commence à s'emanciper, & faire le Sagamo, quand il ne rẽd point le tribut, quand ſes gents le quittent ou que d'autres les luy ſouſtrayent; & comm'entre nous, auſſi entr'eux y a des reproches & meſpris, ceſtuy-là n'eſt qu'vn demy Sagamo, c'eſt vn nouuellement eſclos, comm'vn pouſſin de trois iours, la creſte ne luy faict que de naiſtre: c'eſt vn Sagamochin, c'eſt à dire, vn Aubereau de Sagamo, vn petit nain. Et à celle fin que vous ſçachiés que l'ambition a ſon regne encores deſſous le chaume, & les roſeaux, auſſi bien que deſſous les toicts dorés: Et qu'il ne faut point no⁹ tirer beaucoup l'aureille pour apprẽdre ces leçons.

[53] Ces Sagamies ſe partagent la region, & ſont quaſi diſtribuees par bayes, ou riuieres. Par exemple, en la riuiere de Pentegoet vn Sagamo; vn autre à celle de S. Croix; vn autre à celle de S. Iean, &c. Quand ils ſe viſitent c'eſt au recepuant de bienveigner, & faire tabagie à ſes hoſtes, autant de iours qu'il peut; les hoſtes luy font des preſents: mais c'eſt à la charge que le viſité reciproque, quand ce vient au depart, ſi le viſitant eſt Sagamo, autrement non.

C'eſt l'Eſté principalemẽt qu'ils font leurs viſites,

young men capture belongs to the Sagamore; but the married ones give him only a part, and if these leave him, as they often do for the sake of the chase and supplies, returning afterwards, they pay their dues and homage in skins and [52] like gifts. From this cause there are some quarrels and jealousies among them as among us, but not so serious. When, for example, some one begins to assert himself and to act the Sagamore, when he does not render the tribute, when his people leave him or when others get them away from him; then as among us, also among them, there are reproaches and accusations, as that such a one is only a half Sagamore, is newly hatched like a three-days' chicken, that his crest is only beginning to appear; that he is only a Sagamochin, that is, a Baby Sagamore, a little dwarf. And thus you may know that ambition reigns beneath the thatched roofs, as well as under the gilded, and our ears need not be pulled much to learn these lessons.

[53] These Sagamies divide up the country and are nearly always arranged according to bays or rivers. For example, for the Pentegoet river there is one Sagamore; another for the Ste. Croix; another for the St. John, etc. When they visit each other it is the duty of the host to welcome and to banquet his guests, as many days as he can, the guests making him some presents; but it is with the expectation that the host will reciprocate, when the guest comes to depart, if the guest is a Sagamore, otherwise not.

It is principally in Summer that they pay visits and hold their State Councils; I mean that several Sagamores come together and consult among themselves about peace and war, treaties of friendship and treaties for the common good. It is only these Saga-

& tiennent leurs Eſtats: ie veux dire, que pluſieurs Sagamos s'aſſemblent, & conſultent par entr'eux de la paix, & de la guerre, des traictés d'amitié, & du bien commun. Il n'y a que leſdits Sagamos, qui ayent voix en chapitre, & qui harenguent, ne fuſſent quelques vieux, & renommés [54] *Autmoins*, qui ſont comme leurs Preſtres, car ils les honnorent fort, & leur donnẽt ſeance la meſme qu'aux Sagamos. Il arriue quelque fois, qu'vn meſme eſt tout enſemble & *Autmoin* & *Sagamo*, & lors il eſt grandement redouté. Tel a eſté le renõmé Membertou, qui ſe fit Chreſtien, ainſi que vous ouyrez bien toſt. En ces aſſemblées donc, s'il y a quelques nouuelles d'importance, comme que leurs voiſins leurs veulẽt faire la guerre, ou qu'ils ayent tué quelqu'vn, ou qu'il faille renoueller alliance, &c. Lors meſſagers volent de toutes parts pour faire la plus generale aſſemblée, qu'ils peuuent de tous les confederez qu'ils appellent *Ricmanen*, qui ſont quaſi tous ceux de meſme langue. Neantmoins ſouuent la confederation s'eſtẽd plus loin, que ne faict la langue, & contre [55] ceux de meſme langue, s'eſleuant quelquefois des guerres. En ces aſſemblees ainſi vniuerſelles ſe reſout ou la paix, ou trefue, ou guerre, ou rien du tout, ainſi qu'arriue ſouuent és deliberations, où y a pluſieurs teſtes ſans ordre, & ſubordinatiõ, d'où lon ſe depart plus confus ſouuent & des-vny qu'on n'y eſtoit venu.

Leurs guerres ne ſe font quaſi que de langue à langue, ou de pays à pays, & touſiours par ſurprinſe & trahiſon. Ils ont l'arc & le pauois, ou targue, mais ils ne ſe mettẽt iamais en bataille rãgée, au moins de ce que i'en ay peu apprendre. Et de vray ils ſont de leur naturel paoureux & coüards, quoi qu'ils ne

mores who have a voice in the discussion and who make the speeches, unless there be some old and renowned [54] *Autmoins*, who are like their Priests, for they respect them very much and give them a hearing the same as to the Sagamores. It happens sometimes that the same person is both *Autmoin* and *Sagamore*, and then he is greatly dreaded. Such was the renowned Membertou, who became a Christian, as you will soon hear. Now in these assemblies, if there is some news of importance, as that their neighbors wish to make war upon them, or that they have killed some one, or that they must renew the alliance, etc., then messengers fly from all parts to make up the more general assembly, that they may avail themselves of all the confederates, which they call *Ricmanen*, who are generally those of the same language. Nevertheless the confederation often extends farther than the language does, and war sometimes arises against [55] those who have the same language. In these assemblies so general, they resolve upon peace, truce, war, or nothing at all, as often happens in the councils where there are several chiefs, without order and subordination, whence they frequently depart more confused and disunited than when they came.

Their wars are nearly always between language and language, or country and country, and always by deceit and treachery. They have the bow and the shield, or buckler, but they never place themselves in a line of battle, at least from what I have been able to learn. And, in truth, they are by nature fearful and cowardly, although they are always boasting, and do all they can to be renowned and to have the name of "Great-heart." *Meskir Kameramon*, "Great-heart," among them is the crowning virtue.

ceſſent de ſe vanter, & facent leur poſſible d'eſtre cenſés, & auoir le nom de Grand cœur. *Meskir Kameramon*, Grand cœur chez eux, c'eſt toute vertu.

[56] Si les offenſes ne ſont pas de peuple à peuple, ains entre compatriotes, & combourgeois, lors ils ſe battent par entr'eux pour les petites offenſes, & leur façon de cõbat, eſt cõm'icy celle des femmes, de ſe voler aux cheueux: faiſis par là, ils ſe luittẽt & ſecoüent d'vne terrible façon, & s'ils ſont fort eſgaux, ils demeureront tout vn iour voire deux ſans ſe quitter iuſques à ce qu'on les ſepare, & de vray pour la force du corps, & bras, ils nous ſont eſgaux, le prenant de pareil à pareil, & ſi ſont plus adextres à la luicte, & plus agiles à courir: mais ils n'entendent point à l'eſcrime des poings. I'ay veu vn de nos petits garçons faire fuir deuant ſoy vn Sauuage plus grãd que luy d'vn pied: quãd ſe mettant en poſture de noble combattant, il fermoit le pouce ſur les doigs, luy diſant, Approche: [57] mais auſſi, quand le Sauuage pouuoit le happer par le tronc du corps, il luy faiſoit crier mercy.

Reuenant à mon propos les petites offenſes & querelles ſont facilement appaiſees par les Sagamos & communs amis. Et certes ils ne s'offenſent guieres, qu'on ſçache. Ie dy qu'on ſçache. Car nous n'en auons rien veu, ains touſiours vn grand reſpect, & amour entr'eux. Ce qui nous donnoit vn grãd creue-cœur lors que nous tournions les yeux ſur noſtre miſere. Car de voir vne aſſemblee de François ſans reproches, meſpris, enuies, & noiſes de l'vn à l'autre, c'eſt autant difficile, que de voir la mer ſans ondes, ne fuſt dedans les Cloiſtres & Conuents, où la grace predomine à la nature.

[56] If the offenses are not between tribes, but between compatriots and fellow-citizens, then they fight among themselves for slight offenses, and their way of fighting is like that of women here, they fly for the hair; holding on to this, they struggle and jerk in a terrible fashion, and if they are equally matched, they keep it up one whole day, or even two, without stopping until some one separates them; and certainly in strength of body and arms they are equal to us, comparing like to like; but if they are more skillful in wrestling and nimble running, they do not understand boxing at all. I have seen one of our little boys make a Savage, a foot taller than himself, fly before him; placing himself in the posture of a noble warrior, he placed his thumb over his fingers and said, "Come on!" [57] However, when the Savage was able to catch him up by the waist, he made him cry for mercy.

Returning to my subject. The little offenses and quarrels are easily adjusted by the Sagamores and common friends. And in truth they are hardly ever offended long, as far as we know. I say, as far as we know, for we have never seen anything except always great respect and love among them; which was a great grief to us when we turned our eyes upon our own shortcomings. For to see an assembly of French people without reproaches, slights, envy, and quarrels with each other, is as difficult as to see the sea without waves, except in Monasteries and Convents, where grace triumphs over nature.

The great offenses, as when [58] some one has killed another, or stolen away his wife, etc., are to be avenged by the offended person with his own hand; or if he is dead, it is the duty of the nearest

Les grandes offenſes, comme ſi [58] quelqu'vn auoit tué vn autre, s'il luy auoit deſrobé ſa femme, &c. C'eſt à l'offenſé de les venger de ſa propre main: ou s'il eſt mort, c'eſt à ſes plus proches parents, ce qu'arriuant perſonne ne s'en remuë, ains tous demeurent contents ſur ce mot, *habenquedouïc*, il n'a pas commencé, il le luy a rendu: quittes & bons amis. Que ſi le delinquant, repentant de ſa faute deſire faire ſa paix, il eſt receu d'ordinaire à ſatisfaction, moyennant preſents & autres reparatiõs conuenables.

Ils ne ſont nullement ingrats entr'eux, ils s'entredonnent tout. Nul oſeroit eſconduire la priere d'vn autre, ny manger, ſans luy faire part de ce qu'il a. Vne fois que nous eſtions allés bien loin à la peſche, paſſerent par là cinq ou ſix femmes, ou filles bien chargées & laſſes: nos gents par courtoiſie, [59] leur donnerent de leur prinſe, ce qu'elles mirent cuire tout auſſi toſt dans vn chauderon, que nous leur preſtaſmes, à peine le chauderon boüilloit, que voicy vn bruit, que d'autres Sauuages eſtoyent là qui venoyẽt, alors nos pauures femmes à s'enfuir viſte dans les bois à tout leur chauderon demy cuit: car elles auoyent bonne faim. La raiſon de la fuite eſtoit pour-autant que ſi elles euſſent eſté veuës, il euſt fallu par loy de ciuilité, qu'elles euſſent faict part aux ſuruenants de leur viande, qui n'eſtoit point trop grande. L'on rit bien alors; & plus encores quand elles apres auoir mangé, voyants leſdits Sauuages venus aupres de noſtre feu, firent ſemblant de n'y auoir pas touché, & de paſſer tout ainſi, que ſi elles ne nous euſſent point veu au parauant, elles dirent à nos gents [60] tout bas où c'eſt qu'elles auoyent laiſſé le chauderon, & eux comme bons compagnons, cognoiſſans le myſ-

relatives; when this happens, no one shows any excitement over it, but all dwell contentedly upon this word *habenquedouïc*, "he did not begin it, he has paid him back: quits and good friends." But if the guilty one, repenting of his fault, wishes to make peace, he is usually received with satisfaction, offering presents and other suitable atonement.

They are in no wise ungrateful to each other, and share everything. No one would dare to refuse the request of another, nor to eat without giving him a part of what he has. Once when we had gone a long way off to a fishing place, there passed by five or six women or girls, heavily burdened and weary; our people through courtesy [59] gave them some of our fish, which they immediately put to cook in a kettle, that we loaned them. Scarcely had the kettle begun to boil when a noise was heard, and other Savages could be seen coming; then our poor women fled quickly into the woods, with their kettle only half boiled, for they were very hungry. The reason of their flight was that, if they had been seen, they would have been obliged by a rule of politeness to share with the newcomers their food, which was not too abundant. We had a good laugh then; and were still more amused when they, after having eaten, seeing the said Savages around our fire, acted as if they had never been near there and were about to pass us all by as if they had not seen us before, telling our people [60] in a whisper where they had left the kettle; and they, like good fellows, comprehending the situation, knew enough to look unconscious, and to better carry out the joke, urged them to stop and taste a little fish; but they did not wish to do anything of the kind, they were in such a hurry, saying

tere ſçeurent bien ſeruir aux belles mines, & pour mieux aider au jeu, les preſſoyent de s'arreſter & gouſter vn peu de leur peſche, mais elles ne voulurent rien faire, tant elles auoyent de haſte, diſants, *coupouba*, *coupouba*, grand mercy, grand mercy. Nos gẽts reſpondirẽt: Or allez de part Dieu, puis qu'auez ſi grand haſte.

coupouba, *coupouba*, "many thanks, many thanks." Our people answered: "Now may God be with you since you are in such a hurry."

CHAPITRE VI.

DE LEURS MARIAGES & PETIT NOMBRE DE PEUPLE.

AV cõtraire de nous, ils font en leurs mariages, non que le pere donne doüaire à ſa fille pour la loger auec quelqu'vn; ains [61] que le pourſuiuant face de bons, & beaux preſens au pere, à ce qu'il luy donne ſa fille pour eſpouſe. Les preſents ſeront proportionnément à la qualité du pere, & beauté de la fille; des chiens, des caſtors, des chauderons, & haches, &c. Mais la façon de courtiſer, eſt bien ſauuage: car l'amoureux dés qu'il ſe profeſſe pour tel, n'oſeroit regarder la fille, ny luy parler, ny demeurer aupres d'elle, ſinon par occaſion, & lors il faut qu'il ſe commande de ne la point enuiſager, ny donner aucun ſigne de ſa paſſion, autrement il ſeroit la mocquerie de tous, & ſa fauourie en rougiroit. Apres quelque temps, le pere aſſemble la parẽtée, pour auec eux deliberer de l'alliance. Si le recherchant eſt de bon aage; s'il eſt bon, & diſpos chaſſeur, ſa race, ſon credit, ſa gaillardiſe; & s'il leur aggrée, ils luy [62] allongeront, ou accourciront, ou conditionneront le temps, & façon de ſa pourſuitte, ainſi qu'ils aduiſeront, au bout duquel temps pour les nopces y aura ſolemnelle Tabagie & feſtin, auec harangues, chants, & danſes.

Selon la couſtume du païs, ils peuuent auoir pluſieurs femmes, neantmoins la pluſpart de ceux que i'ay veu n'en ont qu'vne: pluſieurs des Sagamos pre-

CHAPTER VI.

ON THEIR MARRIAGES, AND SPARSENESS OF POPULATION.

CONTRARY to our custom, in their marriages the father does not give a dower to his daughter to establish her with some one, but [61] the lover gives beautiful and suitable presents to the father, so that he will allow him to marry his daughter. The presents will be in proportion to the rank of the father and beauty of the daughter; dogs, beavers, kettles, axes, etc. But they have a very rude way of making love; for the suitor, as soon as he shows a preference for a girl, does not dare look at her, nor speak to her, nor stay near her, unless accidentally; and then he must force himself not to look her in the face, nor to give any sign of his passion, otherwise he would be the laughingstock of all, and his sweetheart would blush for him. After a while, the father brings together the relatives, to talk over the match with them,— whether the suitor is of proper age, whether he is a good and nimble hunter, his family, his reputation, his youthful adventures; and if he suits them, they will [62] lengthen or shorten, or make stipulations as to the time and manner of his courtship as they may think best; and at the end of this time, for the nuptials there will be solemn Tabagie and feasts with speeches, songs and dances.

According to the custom of the country, they can

tendent ne ſe pouuoir paſſer de ceſte pluralité, non ja pour cauſe de luxure (car ceſte nation n'eſt point fort incontinente,) ains pour autres deux raiſons, l'vne à fin de retenir leur authorité, & puiſſance ayants pluſieurs enfans; car en cela giſt la force des maiſons, en multitude d'alliés, & conſanguins : la ſeconde raiſon eſt leur entretien & ſeruice, qui eſt grand, & penible, puis qu'ils ont grande famille & [63] ſuitte, & partant requiert nombre de ſeruiteurs & meſnagers: or n'ont ils autres ſeruiteurs, eſclaues, ou artiſants que les femmes. Les pauurettes endurent toute la miſere & fatigue de la vie: elles font & dreſſent les maiſons, ou cabannes, les fourniſſent de feu, de bois & d'eau, appreſtent les viandes, boucannent les chairs & autres prouiſions, c'eſt à dire les ſeichent à la fumée pour les conſeruer; vont querir la chaſſe ou ell' a eſté tuée, couſent & radoubent les cauots, accommodent & tendent les peaux, les conroyent, & en font des habits, & des ſouliers à toute la famille; vont à la peſche, tirent à l'auiron: en fin ſubiſſent tout le trauail, hors celuy ſeulement de la grande chaſſe: outre le ſoin & la tant oppreſſante nourriture de leurs petits. Elles emmaillottent leurs enfans [64] ſur des petits ais, tels que ſont ceux qui pendẽt aux eſpaules des crocheteurs de Paris, les aiſles en eſtãt oſtees. Ces ais pendẽt à vne large courroye attachée à leur front, & ainſi chargees de leurs enfans s'en vont à l'eau, au bois, à la peſche. Si l'enfant crie elles ſe mettent à danſotter & chanter, berſants ainſi leur petit, lequel ceſſant de plourer, elles pourſuiuent leur beſongne.

Pour ces raiſons doncques aucuns Sauuages veulent defendre leur Polygamie, allegans outre ce, qu'ils

have several wives, but the greater number of them that I have seen have only one; some of the Sagamores pretend that they cannot do without this plurality, not because of lust (for this nation is not very unchaste) but for two other reasons. One is, in order to retain their authority and power by having a number of children; for in that lies the strength of the house, in the great number of allies and connections; the second reason is their entertainment and service, which is great and laborious, since they have large families and [63] a great number of followers, and therefore require a number of servants and housewives; now they have no other servants, slaves, or mechanics but the women. These poor creatures endure all the misfortunes and hardships of life; they prepare and erect the houses, or cabins, furnishing them with fire, wood, and water; prepare the food, preserve the meat and other provisions, that is, dry them in the smoke to preserve them; go to bring the game from the place where it has been killed; sew and repair the canoes, mend and stretch the skins, curry them, and make clothes and shoes of them for the whole family; they go fishing and do the rowing; in short, undertake all the work except that alone of the grand chase, besides having the care and so weakening nourishment of their children. They bind their babies [64] upon little slats like those which hang from the shoulders of street-porters in Paris, with the wings taken away. These slats hang from a broad strap fastened to their foreheads; thus burdened with their children, they go to the water, to the woods, and to fish. If the child cries they begin to dance and sing, thus rocking their little one, and when it stops crying they go on with their work.

viendroyent autrement à defaillance par extreme paucité; ignorants la benediction du mariage Chreſtien. Et partant eſt digne de plus grande loüange ce leur inſigne Membertou, qui quoi qu'il ait eſté le plus grãd Sagamo, le plus ſuiuy, & le plus redouté qu'ils ayẽt eu de pluſieurs ſiecles, [65] ſi n'a-il voulu auoir plus que d'vne femme à la fois, meſmes eſtant Payen, iugeant par inſtinc naturel, que ceſte pluralité eſtoit & infame, & incommode à raiſon des riottes, qui en ſourdent touſiours, tãt entre les femmes, qu'entre les enfans de diuers licts.

Or les femmes, quoy qu'elles ayent tant de peine, comme i'ay dit, ſi n'en ſont elles pas plus cheries. Les maris les battent comme plaſtre, & ſouuent pour bien leger ſubject. Vn iour certain François oſa tancer quelque Sauuage, à ceſt'occaſion: le Sauuage luy repliqua en cholere. Et quoy? Mais as-tu que voir dans ma maiſon, ſi ie bats mon chien? La comparaiſon eſtoit mauuaiſe, la reſponſe eſtoit aiguë. Peu de diuorces arriuent entr'eux, & (comme ie croy) peu d'adulteres. Si la femme s'oublioit en cela, ie ne penſe pas qu'il [66] y allaſt de moins que de la vie de tous les deux adulterans. La faute des filles n'eſt pas tant eſtimée, ny elles ne perdent point pour cela de trouuer party; c'eſt touſiours honte neantmoins.

Quant à l'exterieur habit, port & facon, les femmes & filles ſont fort pudiques & honteuſes, les hommes auſſi ne ſont point impudens, & ſont fort mal edifiés, quãd quelque fol François oſe ſe iouër auec leurs femmes. Certain eſceruelé s'eſtant vne fois licentié en cela, ils vindrent aduiſer noſtre Capitaine qu'il reprimaſt ſes gẽts, l'aduertiſſant que celuy n'auroit pas

So for these reasons some of the Savages try to defend their Polygamy, further alleging that otherwise there would be an extinction of the family for lack of descendants; ignoring the blessings of Christian marriage. And therefore their renowned Membertou is worthy of greater praise, because although he was the greatest Sagamore, the most followed, and the most feared, that they had had for several centuries, [65] yet he did not care to have more than one wife at a time; although a Pagan, judging from instinct that this plurality was both infamous and troublesome, on account of the quarrels which always arose from it, as much among the wives as among the children of different mothers.

Now these women, although they have so much trouble, as I have said, yet are not cherished any more for it. The husbands beat them unmercifully, and often for a very slight cause. One day a certain Frenchman undertook to rebuke a Savage for this; the Savage answered angrily: "How now, have you nothing to do but to see into my house, every time I strike my dog?" The comparison was bad, the retort was keen. Few divorces occur among them, and (as I believe) little adultery. If the wife should so far forget herself, I do not believe that it [66] would be less than a matter of life and death to the two adulterers. The immorality of the girls is not considered so important, nor do they fail for this reason to find husbands; yet it is always a disgrace.

As to their dress, demeanor, and manners, the women and girls are very modest and bashful; the men also are not immodest, and are very much insulted, when some foolish Frenchman dares to meddle with their women. Once when a certain mad-

beau jeu, qui le recommenceroit, qu'on l'eſtendroit par terre. On dreſſe touſiours vne cabane à l'eſcart pour les femmes, qui ont leurs mois, car ils les eſtimẽt eſtre alors contagieuſes.

Ils s'eſtonnent & ſe plaignent [67] ſouuẽt de ce que dés que les Frãçois hantent & ont commerce auec eux, ils ſe meurent fort, & ſe depeuplent. Car ils aſſeurent qu'auant ceſte hantiſe, & frequentation, toutes leurs terres eſtoyent fort populeuſes, & hiſtorient par ordre coſte par coſte, qu'à meſure qu'ils ont plus cõmencé à traffiquer auecques nous, ils ont plus eſté rauagez de maladies : adjouſtans, que la cauſe pourquoy les Armouchiquoys ſe maintiennent en leur nombroſité, c'eſt à leur aduis, parce qu'ils ne ſont point nonchalants. Là deſſus ils alambiquent ſouuent leur cerueau, & tantoſt ils opinent, que les François les empoiſonnent, ce qui eſt faux: tantoſt qu'ils donnent du poiſon aux ſcelerats, & peruers de leur natiõ, pour s'en ſeruir à l'exequution de leur malice. Ceſte poſterieure coniecture n'eſt pas ſans [68] exemple: car nous auons veu du reagal, & du ſublimé entre leurs mains, lequel ils diſoyent auoir acheté de certains Chirurgiens François, à fin de faire mourir tous ceux qu'il leur plairoit, & ſe vantoyent l'auoir ja experimenté ſur vn captif, lequel (diſoyent-ils) eſtoit mort vn iour apres la prinſe. Autres ſe plaignent qu'on leur deſguiſe ſouuent, & ſophiſtique les marchandiſes, & qu'on leur vend des pois, febues, prunes, pain, & autres choſes gaſtees? & que c'eſt cela qui leur corromp le corps, & dont s'engendrẽt les dyſenteries & autres maladies, qui ont couſtume de les ſaiſir en Automne. Ceſte raiſon de meſme ne ſe propoſe pas ſans productiõ d'exemples, dont ils ont

cap took some liberties, they came and told our Captain that he should look out for his men, informing him that any one who attempted to do that again would not stand much of a chance, that they would kill him on the spot. They always put up a separate cabin for the women when they have their menses, for then they believe them to be infectious.

They are astonished and often complain [67] that, since the French mingle with and carry on trade with them, they are dying fast, and the population is thinning out. For they assert that, before this association and intercourse, all their countries were very populous, and they tell how one by one the different coasts, according as they have begun to traffic with us, have been more reduced by disease; adding, that the reason why the Armouchiquois do not diminish in population is because they are not at all careless. Thereupon they often puzzle their brains, and sometimes think that the French poison them, which is not true; at other times that they give poison to the wicked and vicious of their nation to help them vent their spite upon some one. This last supposition is not without [68] foundation; for we have seen them have some arsenic and sublimate which they said they bought from certain French Surgeons, in order to kill whomsoever they wished, and boasted that they had already experimented upon a captive, who (they said) died the day after taking it. Others complain that the merchandise is often counterfeited and adulterated, and that peas, beans, prunes, bread, and other things that are spoiled are sold to them; and that it is that which corrupts the body and gives rise to the dysentery and other diseases which always attack them in Autumn. This theory likewise is not offered

eſté ſouuent ſur le poinct de rompre auecques nous, & de nous faire la guerre. Certes il y auroit bon beſoin de [69] pouruoir à ces meurtres execrables, par remedes conuenables ſi lon en pouuoit trouuer aucun.

Neantmoins la principale cauſe de toutes ces morts & maladies n'eſt pas ce qu'ils diſent: ains c'eſt à leur honte; que l'Eſté nos nauires venus ils ne ceſſent de pluſieurs ſepmaines s'engorger outre meſure de pluſieurs viandes non accouſtumés auec oiſiueté, d'yurongner, & au vin adiouſter encores l'eau de vie; dont n'eſt pas de merueille ſi deſpuis l'Automne ſuiuant, il faut qu'ils endurent des trenchées de ventre. Ceſte nation eſt fort peu ſoucieuſe de l'auenir, ainſi que tous les autres Americains, qui iouyſſent du preſent: & ne ſont pouſſez au trauail, que par la neceſſité preſente. Tandis qu'ils ont dequoy, ils font tabagie perpetuelle; chants, danſes & harangues: & s'ils ſont [70] en troupe, n'attendez pas autre choſe; il y a lors belles treues par les bois. Parler de reſerue s'ils ne ſont en guerre, ſont propos de ſedition. Ils auront faim l'Hyuer, leur dirés vous: *Endriex*, vous reſpondront: c'eſt tout vn; nous l'endurons facilement: nous paſſons les ſept & huict iours, voire les dix aucunefois ſans manger, ſi n'en mourons point pour cela. Toutesfois s'ils ſont à part, & où leurs fẽmes puiſſent eſtre creuës (car les femmes ſont par tout plus meſnageres) ils feront aucunesfois des magaſins pour l'Hyuer, où ils ſe reſerueront quelques chairs boucanées: quelques racines, du gland eſpeluché en noyaux, quelques pois, ou febues, ou pruneaux de la trocque, &c. La façon de ces magaſins eſt telle. Ils mettent ces prouiſions dans des ſacs, qu'ils enueloppent dans des [71] grandes & amples eſcorces;

without citing instances, for which they have often been upon the point of breaking with us, and making war upon us. Indeed there would be great need of [69] providing against these detestable murders by some suitable remedy if one could be found.

Nevertheless the principal cause of all these deaths and diseases is not what they say it is, but it is something to their shame; in the Summer time, when our ships come, they never stop gorging themselves excessively during several weeks with various kinds of food not suitable to the inactivity of their lives; they get drunk, not only on wine but on brandy; so it is no wonder that they are obliged to endure some gripes of the stomach in the following Autumn. This nation takes little care for the future, but, like all the other Americans, enjoys the present; they are not urged on to work except by present necessity. As long as they have anything, they are always celebrating feasts and having songs, dances and speeches; if there is [70] a crowd of them you need not expect anything else; there are then some fine truces in the woods. To speak of restraint, when they are not at war, is equal to proposing a riot. If you tell them that they will be hungry in the Winter: *Endriex*, they will answer you, "It is all the same to us, we shall stand it well enough: we spend seven and eight days, even ten sometimes, without eating anything, yet we do not die." Nevertheless, if they are by themselves and where they may safely listen to their wives (for women are everywhere better managers), they will sometimes make some storehouses for the Winter, where they will keep smoked meat, roots, shelled acorns, peas, beans, or prunes bought from us, etc. The storehouses are like this; — They put these

leſquelles ils ſuſpendent en l'air aux branches de deux ou trois arbres, liées par enſemble, à ce que les rats ny les autres beſtes, ny l'humidité de la terre, ne les endommage. Voila leurs magaſins. Qui les gardera? eux s'en allants: car s'ils demeuroyent, leurs magaſins iroyent bien toſt par terre; ils s'en vont doncques autre part iuſques au temps de famine: Telles ſont les gardes, qu'ils y mettent. Auſſi de vray ceſte nation n'eſt point larronneſſe. Pleuſt à Dieu, que les Chreſtiens, qui vont à eux ne dõnaſſent en cela point de ſcandale. Mais auiourd'huy ſi on ſoupçonne aucun Sauuage d'auoir deſrobé, auſſi toſt il vous mettra deuant le nez ceſte belle defenſe. *Nous ne ſommes point larrons, comme vous, Ilinen auio aciquoan guiro derquir.*

Reuenants à la paucité de ce [72] peuple, il y a encores des autres raiſons d'icelle, ceſte-cy principalement: qu'en vne vie tant inegale, ſi diſetteuſe, & tant laborieuſe, le naturel luy peut durer, s'il n'eſt bien fort; & le fort meſme y reçoit des accidents ſouuent, & heurts irremediables. Leurs femmes auſſi à cauſe du grand trauail ne ſont pas ſi fecondes: car c'eſt le plus, ſi elles enfantent de deux en deux ans. Auſſi ne pourroyent elles nourrir leur fruict, ſi elles accouchoyẽt plus ſouuent; veu meſmes qu'elles alaictent leurs enfans iuſques à trois ans, ſi elles peuuẽt. Leur couche ne dure guieres, deux heures: ſouuent en chemin elles ſe deliurent, & vn peu apres reprendront leur trauail comme deuant.

Ie me ſuis enquis ſouuent, combien grand pourroit eſtre le nombre de ce peuple: I'ay trouué par [73] la Relation des Sauuages meſmes, que dans l'enclos de la grande riuiere, dés les Terres Neufues iuſques à

provisions in sacks, which they tie up in [71] big pieces of bark; these they suspend from the interlacing branches of two or three trees so that neither rats nor other animals, nor the dampness of the ground, can injure them. These are their storehouses. Who is to take care of them when they go away? for, if they stay, their stores would soon be consumed; so they go somewhere else until the time of famine. Such are the only guards they leave. For in truth this is not a nation of thieves. Would to God that the Christians who go among them would not set them a bad example in this respect. But as it is now, if a certain Savage is suspected of having stolen anything he will immediately throw this fine defense in your teeth, *We are not thieves, like you, Ilinen auio aciquoan guiro derquir.*

Returning to the sparseness of the [72] population, there are still some other reasons for it; this being the principal one, that in a life so irregular, so necessitous and so painful, a man's constitution cannot hold out unless it be very strong, and even then he is liable to accidents and irremediable injuries. Their wives, on account of their heavy work, are not very prolific, for at most they do not have children oftener than every two years, and they are not able to nourish their offspring if they have them oftener, as they nurse them for three years if they can.[19] Their confinement lasts hardly two hours; often the children are born on the march, and a little while afterward the mothers will go on with their work as before.

I have often wondered how many of these people there are. I have found from [73] the Accounts of the Savages themselves, that in the region of the great

Chouacoët, on ne ſçauroit trouuer plus de neuf ou dix mill'ames. Regardez la carte, & ie vous en donneray le denombrement. Tous les Souriquoys 3000. ou 3500. Les Eteminquois iuſques à Pentegoët 2500. Dés Pentegoët iuſques à Kinibequi, & de Kinibequi iuſques à Chouacoët 3000. Les Montaguets 1000. Voila enuiron dix mill'ames, & ie crois que c'eſt pour le plus. Les autres peuples ne nous sõt pas cogneus. Aduiſez combien veritablement, & emphatiquement a parlé le S. Eſprit par la bouche d'Iſaye de ces pauures Sauuages diſperſez, ſoubs la metaphore propre & conuenable d'vn grãd vergier, ou parterre ſauuagin, & foreſtier. *Il ne fait que florir encores, ſur le temps de la recolte*, [74] dit-il, *Il germe, quand il deuroit eſtre venu à maturité: Il le faut lors émonder, & tailler; C'eſt pourquoy ſes fruicts ſont delaiſſez aux oyſeaux des montagnes & beſtes de la terre: Les oyſeaux jucheront ſur luy tout l'Esté; & toutes les bestes de la terre hyuerneront ſur luy.* Car certainement, ce pauure peuple, comme vn grand plan de ſauuageons mal nez, & de mauuaiſe venuë, quand par le laps & experience des ſiecles, il deuroit eſtre venu à quelque perfection des arts, ſciences, & raiſon: Qu'il en deuroit auoir produict fruict abondant en philoſophie, police, mœurs, & commoditez de la vie; qu'il deuroit eſtre ja diſpoſé à la maturité du S. Euangile, pour eſtre recueilly en la maisõ de Dieu: voila qu'on ne le voit ſinon chetif & rare, donné la paſture des corbeaux, hiboux & cocus infernaux: & la curee maudite des renards, [75] ours, ſangliers, & dragons ſpirituels. O Dieu de miſericorde! n'aurez vous point pitié de ce deſaſtre? Ne ietterez-vous point vos yeux de douceur ſur ce pauure deſert?

river, from Newfoundland to Chouacoët, there cannot be found more than nine or ten thousand people. Look at the chart and I will give you the enumeration of them. The Souriquoys, in all, 3000, or 3500. The Eteminquois to Pentegoët, 2500. From Pentegoët to Kinibequi and from Kinibequi to Chouacoët, 3000. The Montaguets, 1000. This is about ten thousand souls, and I believe it is the highest number. The other tribes are not known to us. Consider how truly and emphatically the Holy Spirit has spoken through the mouth of Isaiah about these poor scattered Savages, under the fitting and appropriate comparison of a great orchard or garden, wild and uncultivated. He says: *At the time of the harvest there are still nothing but buds,* [74] *At the time of the ripening, they are springing up: Then must he cut off the sprigs with pruning hooks: Therefore the fruits are left to the fowls of the mountain, and to the beasts of the earth; the fowls shall Summer upon them, and all the beasts of the earth shall winter upon them.* For in truth this people, who, through the progress and experience of centuries, ought to have come to some perfection in the arts, sciences and philosophy, is like a great field of stunted and ill-begotten wild plants, a people which ought to have produced abundant fruits in philosophy, government, customs, and conveniences of life; which ought to be already prepared for the completeness of the Holy Gospel, to be received in the house of God. Yet behold it wretched and dispersed, given up to ravens, owls, and infernal cuckoos, and to be the cursed prey of spiritual foxes, [75] bears, boars, and dragons. O, God of mercy! wilt thou not have pity upon this misery? Wilt thou not look upon this poor wilderness with a favoring eye? Kind

Benin, & pieux laboureur, faictes que la prophetie, qui fuit ſe verifie en nous en noſtre âge. *En ce tẽps là preſent ſera apporté au Seigneur des Armées par le peuple rompu, & deſchiré, par le peuple terrible, apres qui n'en y a point d'autre; La nation attendãte, attendante, & meſpriſee, de qui les fleuues ont gaſté la terre; au lieu où eſt inuoqué le nom du Seigneur des Armées à la montagne de Sion.* Ainſi ſoit-il.

and pious husbandman, so act that the prophecy which follows may be fulfilled upon us and in our time. *In that time shall a present be brought unto the Lord of Hosts from a people rent, and torn in pieces, a terrible people, after which there hath been no other; A nation expecting, expecting, and trodden under foot, whose land the rivers have spoiled; to the place of the name of the Lord of Hosts, the mount Sion.* Amen.

CHAPITRE VII.

[76] DE LA MEDECINE DES SAUUAGES.

IL eſt aſſeuré, que les diſettes grandes ſuffoquent l'eſprit, & l'oppreſſent de leur importun & tyrannique ſeruice, en ſorte qu'à peine peut-il reuenir à ſoy iamais, ou ſe regaillardir en quelques gentiles conſiderations: non pas meſme ſonger aux autres moindres neceſſitez pour leur aller au deuant, ou les alleger; preoccupé touſiours & violenté par les plus fortes. Nous voyons cecy en nos pauures Sauuages, leſquels pour ne viure qu'au iour à la iournée, & par conſequent touſiours aſſeruis à la crainte de la faim, premiere, & plus forte neceſſité de toutes, n'ont moyen de cultiuer leur eſprit en la recherche des [77] ſciences; non pas meſme de ſe pouruoir des ars, & induſtries pour l'aiſance, & amelioremẽt de la vie, ny pour fournir aux autres defauts, quoy que bien preſſants. A ceſte cauſe donc ils manquent non ſeulement de toutes lettres & beaux artifices; ains auſſi (choſe miſerable) de medecine, ſoit pour l'entretenement de leur ſanté, ſoit pour le ſecours de leurs maladies, ſinon en ce peu que ie diray.

Ils entretiennent leur ſanté (l'Eſté principalement) par l'vſage des eſtuuées & ſueurs, & du baigner. Ils ſe ſeruent auſſi de friction, apres laquelle ils s'oignent tout le corps d'huyle de loup marin. Ce qui les rend fort faſcheuſement puants à qui n'y eſt accouſtumé. Neantmoins ceſte onction faict, que le chaud & le froid leur en ſont plus tolerables, que leurs [78] che-

CHAPTER VII.

[76] ON THE MEDICINE OF THE SAVAGES.

IT is true that great poverty stifles the spirit, and overwhelms it with its importunate and despotic sway, so that it can seldom turn to itself, or revel in agreeable meditations, nor even dream of something better to prevent or lighten it, being always absorbed in and possessed by the greatest needs. We see this in our poor Sàvages, who live only from hand to mouth, and hence are always subject to the fear of hunger, first and strongest of all wants; they have no opportunity of developing their minds in the pursuit of [77] knowledge; not even of providing arts and trades for the relief and amelioration of life, nor to satisfy other wants however pressing. Now for this reason they not only lack all literature and fine arts, but also (unfortunately) medicine, whether for the preservation of their health, or for the cure of their diseases, except the little that I shall describe.

They keep themselves well (principally in Summer) by the use of hot rooms and sweat boxes, and by the bath. They also use massage, afterwards rubbing the whole body with seal oil, causing them to emit an odor which is very disagreeable to those not accustomed to it. Nevertheless, when this oiling process is over, they can stand heat and cold better, and their [78] hair is not caught in the branches, but is slippery, so that rain and tempest do not injure the head, but glide over it to the feet; also that the mosquitoes

ueux ne sõt prins par les bois, ains gliſſent, que la pluye & mauuais temps ne leur nuit à la teſte, ains coule en bas & iuſques aux pieds. Item, que les moucherons (qui là ſont cruels en Eſté, & plus qu'on ne croiroit) ne les tourmentent point tant és parties nuës, &c. Ils vſent auſſi du petun, & en boiuent la fumée, de la façon commune en France. Cela leur profite ſans doute, voire leur eſt du tout neceſſaire, veu les grandes extremitez qu'ils endurẽt de froid & mauuais temps, de faim, & de repletion ou ſaturité, mais auſſi beaucoup de maux leur en aduiennent; à cauſe de leur excés en cela. c'eſt tout leur deduit quãd ils en ont, & de certains François auſſi bien que d'eux, qui s'y accoquinent, tellement que pour boire de ces fumées, ils vendroyent leur chemiſe. Tous leurs deuis, [79] traictés, bien-veignements, & careſſes ſe font auec ce petun. Ils ſe mettẽt en rond à l'entour du feu, deuiſants, & ſe baillants le petunoir de main en main, & s'entretenants en ceſte façon pluſieurs heures auec grand plaiſir. Tel eſt leur gouſt, & couſtume.

Or ceux qui profeſſent entre eux la medecine, ſont les meſmes, qui maintiennent l'eſtat de la Religion, ſçauoir eſt, les *Autmoins*, qui en charge repreſenteroyent nos Preſtres d'icy, & nos Medecins. Mais en verité, ils ne ſont Preſtres, ains vrais ſorciers; ny Medecins, ains Triacleurs menſongers, & trompeurs. Toute leur ſcience eſt en la cognoiſſance de quelque peu de ſimples laxatifs, ou aſtringents, chauds ou froids, lenitifs, ou corroſifs, pour le foye, ou pour le roignon; & le haſart de bonne fortune, voila tout. [80] Mais leurs malices, & tromperies ſont grandes, deſquelles ie vous preſenteray icy vn eſchantillon;

(which are very vicious there in Summer, and more annoying than one would believe) do not sting so much in the bare parts, etc. They also use tobacco, and inhale the smoke as is done in France. This is without doubt a help to them, and upon the whole rather necessary, considering the great extremes of cold and bad weather and of hunger and overeating or satiety which they endure; but also many ills arise from it, on account of its excessive use. It is the sole delight of these people when they have some of it, and also certain Frenchmen are so bewitched with it that, to inhale its fumes, they would sell their shirts. All their talks, [79] treaties, welcomes, and endearments are made under the fumes of this tobacco. They gather around the fire, chatting and passing the pipe from hand to hand, enjoying themselves in this way for several hours. Such is their inclination and custom.

Now those among them who practice medicine, are identical with those who are at the head of their Religion, i.e. *Autmoins*, whose office is the same as that of our Priests and our Physicians. But in truth they are not Priests, but genuine sorcerers; not Physicians, but Jugglers, liars, and cheats. All their science consists in a knowledge of a few simple laxatives, or astringents, hot or cold applications, lenitives or irritants for the liver or kidneys, leaving the rest to luck; nothing more. [80] But they are well versed in tricks and impositions, of which I shall give you a sample, assuring you that I have not misrepresented or fabricated anything of all that I shall tell you, although it may seem incredible.

A Savage, feeling very ill, stretches himself out near the fire: then they say; *Ouëscouzy, Ouëscouzy*, " he

vous aſſeurant n'y auoir rien de feint, ou controuué en tout ce que ie vous en raconteray, quoy qu'il ſemble incroyable.

Le Sauuage ſe ſentant mal extraordinairement, ſe couche tout au long du feu: lors on dit; *Ouëſcouzy. Ouëſcouzy.* Il eſt malade. En ſon temps on luy donnera ſa part de ce qu'on aura rouſty, boüilly, ou trainé par les cendres; tout ainſi qu'aux autres, car de luy chercher ou appreſter quelque choſe de particulier, ils n'en ont point l'vſance. Si donc le malade mange ce qu'on luy aura baillé, bon prou luy face; ſinon, lon dira, qu'il eſt bien malade. Et apres quelques iours (ſi lon peut) on mandera querir l'*Autmoin*, que les Baſques appellent *Pilotoys*, c'eſt à dire, ſorcier. [81] Or ce *Pilotoys* ayant conſideré ſon malade, le ſouffle, & reſouffle auec ie ne ſçay quels enchantements; vous diriés que ces vents pectoraux doiuent diſſiper la cacochymie du patient. Que s'il voit apres quelques iours, que pour tout ſon bourſoufflement le mal ne diſparoit point, il en trouue bien la cauſe à ſon aduis, c'eſt dit-il, pour-autant que le Diable eſt là, au dedans du malade, le tourmentant, & empeſchant la gueriſon. Mais qu'il faut l'auoir le mauuais, l'enleuer de force, & le tuer. Lors tous ſe preparent à ceſte heroique action, que le tuer Belzebut: Et l'*Autmoin* les aduertit d'eſtre bien ſur leurs gardes: car il ſe peut biẽ faire que ceſt audacieux ſe voyant mal mené par luy, ſe ruë ſur quelqu'vn de la troupe, & l'eſtrangle là. Pour ceſte cauſe il diſtribue à chaſcun ſon acte de la [82] fable: mais elle ſeroit trop longue à raconter, car elle dure bien trois heures.

Le ſommaire eſt, que le Iongleur enfoüit dans vn creux bien profond en terre vne cheuille, à laquelle

is sick." When his turn comes, they give him his share of whatever they have boiled, roasted, or dragged over the coals, just the same as the others, for they are not accustomed to seek or prepare any special food for him. Now if the sick man eats what is given him, it is a good sign; otherwise, they say that he is very sick, and after some days (if they can) they will send for the *Autmoin*, whom the Basques call *Pilotoys;* i.e., sorcerer.[80] [81] Now this *Pilotoys*, having studied his patient, breathes and blows upon him some unknown enchantments; you would say that these chest winds ought to dispel the vitiated humors of the patient. If he sees after some days, that notwithstanding all his blowing the evil does not disappear, he finds the reason for it according to his own ideas, and says it is because the Devil is there inside of the sick man, tormenting and preventing him from getting well; but that he must have the evil thing, get it out by force and kill it. Then all prepare for that heroic action, the killing of Beelzebub. And the *Autmoin* advises them to be upon their guard, for it can easily happen that this insolent fellow, seeing himself badly treated by him, may hurl himself upon some one of the crowd, and strangle him upon the spot. For this reason he allots to each one his part of the [82] farce; but it would be tedious to describe, for it lasts fully three hours.

The sum and substance of it is that the Juggler hides a stick in a deep hole in the ground, to which is attached a cord. Then, after various chants, dances, and howls over the hole, and over the sick man, who is not far away, of such kind that a well man would have enough of it to deafen him, he takes a naked sword and slashes it about so furiously that the sweat

il attache vne corde. Puis ayant fait diuers chants, danſes & hurlements ſur le trou, & ſur le malade, qui n'en eſt pas loin, tel qu'il y en auroit aſſez pour eſtourdir vn homme bien ſain: il prend vn' eſpee toute nuë, & s'endemene ſi furieuſement çà & là, qu'il en ſuë à groſſes gouttes par tout le corps, & baue comm'vn cheual. Sur quoy les ſpectateurs eſtant ja intimidés: luy d'vn effroyable & vrayement energumenique ton, redouble ſes denontiations, & mugiſſements, qu'on ſe garde, il eſt en fougues le Satan, il y a du grand danger. A ce cry les pauures abuſez deuiennẽt paſles, [83] à demy morts comme linge, & tremblent comme la fueille ſur l'arbre. En fin ceſt affronteur s'eſcrie d'vn autre accent plus gaillard. *Il en a le maudit cornu: Ie le vois là tout eſtendu aux abois, & pantelant dedans la foſſe.* Mais courage; il le faut auoir du tout, & l'exterminer entierement. Adonc le monde preſent bien-aiſe, & tous les plus robuſtes de grande ioye ſe iettent à la corde pour enleuer Satan, & tirent, tirent. Mais ils n'ont garde de l'auoir: l'Autmoin ayãt trop biẽ fiché la cheuille. Ils tirẽt encore vn' autrefois tant qu'il peuuẽt, mais pour neant. Tandis le Pilotoys de temps en temps va deſcharger ſes blaſphemes deſſus la foſſe, & faiſant ſemblant de donner à l'ennemy d'enfer de grandes eſtocades, deſchauſſe peu à peu la cheuille, laquelle en fin à force de tirer s'arrache, apportant [84] auec ſoy quelques badineries, que le charlatant auoit attachée au bout, comme des oſſements pourris de mouluë, de roigneures de peaux chargées de fiente, &c. Alors ioye par tout; il a eſté tué le meſchant Lucifer. *Nepq. Nepq.* Tenez, en voyez-vous les marques? O victoire! vous guerirez, malade; Ayez bonne eſpe-

comes out in great drops all over his body and he froths like a horse. Thereupon the spectators, being already intimidated, he, with a frightful and truly demoniac voice, redoubles his roars and threats that they must take care, that Satan is furious and that there is great peril. At this cry the poor dupes turn pale [83] as death, and tremble like the leaf upon the tree. At last this impostor cries out in another and more joyous tone: "*There is the accursed one with the horn: I see him extended there at bay and panting within the ditch.* But courage, we must have him all and exterminate him entirely." Now the audience being relieved, all the strongest with great joy rush for the cord to raise Satan, and pull and pull. But they are far from getting him, as the Autmoin has fastened the stick too well. They pull again as hard as they can, but without success, while the Pilotoys goes, from time to time, to utter his blasphemies over the hole; and, making as if to give great thrusts to the diabolical enemy, little by little uncovers the stick which, at last, by hard pulling, is torn out, bringing [84] with it some rubbish, which the charlatan had fastened to the end, such as decayed and mouldy bones, pieces of skin covered with dung, etc. Then they are all overjoyed; wicked Lucifer has been killed. *Nepq. Nepq.* Stop, do you see his tracks? Oh victory! You will get well, sick man; be of good cheer, if the evil is not stronger than you, I mean, if the Devil has not already given you your deathblow.

For this is the last Scene of the farce. The Autmoin says, that the Devil being already killed, or seriously hurt, or at least gone away, whether very far or not, I do not know, it remains to be seen if he

rance, ſi le mal n'eſt point plus fort que vous: ie veux dire, ſi le Diable ne vous a ja bleſſé à mort.

Car icy eſt la derniere Scene de la farce. L'Autmoin dit, que ja le Diable eſtant tué, ou bien bleſſé, ou du moins dehors, ie ne ſçay, où bien loin: Il reſte à ſçauoir s'il aura point laiſſé le malade bleſſé à mort Pour deuiner cela il faut qu'il ſonge: auſſi a-il bon beſoin d'aller dormir: car il eſt fort trauaillé: cependant il gaigne temps pour voir les criſes de la maladie. [85] Ayant bien dormy, & ſongé, il reuoit ſon malade, & ſelon les prognoſtiques, qu'il recognoit, il le prononce deuoir, ou viure, ou mourir. Il n'eſt ja ſi ſot de dire, qu'il viura, s'il n'en a des prorretiques aſſeurez: Il dira doncques qu'il mourra, par exemple dans trois iours. Or oyez maintenant vne belle façon de verifier ſes propheties. Premierement le malade dés qu'il eſt ainſi iugé à mort ne mange point, & lon ne luy donne rien plus. Que ſi le troiſieſme iour venu il ne meurt point encores, ils diſent, qu'il y a ie ne ſçay quoy du Diable, qui ne le permet pas expirer à ſon aiſe: par ainſi on s'en court à l'ayde: Où? A l'eau. Quoy faire? En apporter des pleins chauderons. Pourquoy? Pour la luy verſer toute froide deſſus le vẽtre, & ainſi luy eſteindre toute chaleur vitale ſi aucune [86] luy reſte. Il faut bien qu'il treſpaſſe le troiſieſme iour, puis que s'il ne veut mourir de ſoy, on le tuë.

Le Pere Enemõd Maſſé ſe rencontra vne fois en vn tel badinage, & en conuainquit manifeſtement la piperie, & fauſſeté. Mais on ne ſçauroit dire combien peut la couſtume, & l'authorité ja preiugée, encores meſmes contre les demonſtratiõs oculaires. Car toutes vos raiſons, & apportez-en mille ſi vous vou-

has given a death wound to the patient. To guess this he will have to dream; indeed he is in great need of sleep, for he has worked hard. Meanwhile he gains time to observe the crisis of the disease. [85] Having slept well and dreamed, he looks again at his patient and, according to the symptoms which he observes, he declares that he is either to live or to die. He is not so foolish as to say that he will live, if the symptoms are not encouraging. He will then say, for instance, that he will die in three days. Hear now in what a fine fashion he verifies his prophecies. In the first place the sick man, since he has been thus appointed to die, does not eat, and they no longer offer him anything. But if he does not die by the third day, they say that he has something of the Devil in him, I know not what, which does not permit him to die easily, so they rush to his aid. Where? To the water. What to do? To bring kettles full of it. Why? To pour the cold water over his navel, and thus extinguish all vital heat, if any [86] remain to him. He is indeed obliged to die the third day, since if he is not going to do it of himself, they kill him.

Father Enemond Massé once found himself in the midst of this kind of foolery, and demonstrated to them plainly the trickery and falsity of it. But it is impossible to tell to how great a degree custom and influence can prejudice, even in the presence of ocular proof. For all your arguments, and you can bring on a thousand of them if you wish, are annihilated by this single shaft which they always have at hand, *Aoti Chabaya*, (they say) "That is the Savage way of doing it. You can have your way and we will have ours; every one values his own wares."

lez, ſont biffées, par ce ſeul traict, qui leur eſt en main. *Aoti Chabaya*, c'eſt (diſent-ils) la façon de faire des Sauuages. Vous vſez de la voſtre, nous de la noſtre. Chacun priſe ſes merceries, mais en deſpit de ces malencontreuſes predictions Autmoinales nous en auons veu par la grace de Dieu, qui ſont eſchappez & reuenus en ſanté, par le bon ſoin & [87] cure des François, comme *Membertou*, que Monſieur de Potrincourt retira d'vne toute telle mort, & deſpuis de noſtre temps ſon fils *Actodin*. Ce qui a grandement decredité ces deſaſtrez Magiciens, & a ouuert les yeux à ceſte pauure Gentilité, à la grande gloire de noſtre Sauueur, & conſolation de ſes ſeruiteurs.

Pour la cure des playes, les Autmoins n'y entendent guieres plus: car ils ne ſçauent que ſuccer la bleſſeure & la charmer, y appoſant quelques ſimples au rencontre de la bonne auenture. Cependant la cõmune opinion eſt, qu'il faut faire pluſieurs & bons preſents à l'Autmoin, à celle fin qu'il aye meilleure main: car, diſent-ils, cela y fait beaucoup en toutes ſortes de ſymptomes. Les meſmes Pilotoys ont auſſi ce priuilege, que de receuoir de tous, & de ne [88] dõner à perſonne; Ainſi que s'en venta vn faux vieillard, audict P. Enemond Maſſé. C'eſt vne belle exemption de taille, que ceſte-là: Ne rien donner, & receuoir tout.

But in spite of these lugubrious Autmoinal predictions, we have seen some who, by the grace of God, have been saved and have recovered their health, through the good care and [87] nursing of the French, as for instance *Membertou*, whom Monsieur de Potrincourt delivered from just such a death as this; and in our time his son, *Actodin*; which has greatly discredited these baleful Magicians, and has opened the eyes of these poor Heathen, to the great glory of our Savior, and satisfaction of his servants.

In regard to the cure of sores, the Autmoins know no more; for all they can do is to suck the wound and charm it, applying to it some simple remedies at random. However, the general impression is, that they must make many and valuable presents to the Autmoin, so that he may have a more skillful hand: for they say that that counts a great deal in all kinds of diseases. Likewise the Pilotoys have also this privilege, that of receiving from all and [88] giving to none, as a wicked old man boasted to Father Enemond Massé. This is a fine exemption from taxes, indeed: Give nothing and take all.

CHAPITRE VIII.

DE LEUR TESTAMENT, LEURS OBSEQUES, & ENTERREMENT, & DE LEUR RELIGION.

LE malade ayant eſté iugé à mort par l'Autmoin, ainſi que nous auons dit: Toute la parentée, & les voyſins s'aſſemblẽt, & luy, au plus haut appareil qu'il peut, fait la harangue funebre: recite ſes geſtes, donne des enſeignements à ſa famille, recommande ſes amis: en fin, dit à Dieu. Voyla tout leur teſtament: Car de dons, ils n'en font point, ains tout au contraire de nous, les ſuruiuants [89] en font en mourant, ainſi qu'ouyrez. Seulement faut excepter la Tabagie, parce qu'elle eſt vne rubrique generale qu'il faut obſeruer par tout, à fin que les ceremonies ſoyent ſelon le droict.

Doncques, ſi le mourãt a quelques prouiſions, il faut qu'il en face Tabagie à tous ſes parents, & amis. Cependant qu'elle cuit, les aſſiſtants luy font reciproquemẽt leurs preſents en ſigne d'amitié, des chiens; des peaux, de fleſches, &c. On tue ces chiens pour les luy enuoyer au deuãt en l'autre monde. Leſdits chiens encores ſeruẽt à la Tabagie, car ils y trouuent du gouſt. Ayant banqueté, ils commencent leurs harengues de commiſeratiõ, & leurs Adieus pitoyables, que le cœur leur pleure, & leur ſaigne de ce que leur bon amy les quitte, & s'en va; mais qu'il s'en aille hardimẽt puis [90] qu'il laiſſe de beaux enfans, qui ſeront bons chaſſeurs, & vaillants hommes: & des bons amis, qui bien vengerõt les

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THEIR WILLS, FUNERAL RITES, AND BURIALS, AND ON THEIR RELIGION.

THE sick man having been appointed by the Autmoin to die, as we have said, all the relations and neighbors assemble and, with the greatest possible solemnity, he delivers his funeral oration: he recites his heroic deeds, gives some directions to his family, recommends his friends: finally, says adieu. This is all there is of their wills. As to gifts, they make none at all; but, quite different from us, the survivors [89] give some to the dying man, as you will hear. But we must except the Tabagie, for it is a general injunction which must be observed everywhere, so that the ceremonies may be according to law.

So if the dying man has some supplies on hand, he must make Tabagie of them for all his relatives and friends. While it is being prepared, those who are present exchange gifts with him in token of friendship; dogs, skins, arrows, etc. They kill these dogs in order to send them on before him into the other world. The said dogs are afterwards served at the Tabagie, for they find them palatable. Having banqueted they begin to express their sympathy and sorrowful Farewells, their hearts weep and bleed because their good friend is going to leave them and go away; but he may go fearlessly, since [90] he leaves behind him beautiful children, who are good hunters and brave men: and good friends, who will avenge

torts qu'on luy a faicts, &c. Ce train dure iuſques à ce que le treſpaſſant expire, ce qu'arriuant ils iettẽt des crys horribles, & eſt choſe furieuſe, que de leurs Nænies, leſquelles ne ceſſent ny iour, ny nuict, quelque fois durẽt toute vne ſepmaine; ſelon que le defunct eſt grand, & que les complorants ont de prouiſion. Si la prouiſion defaut entierement, ils ne font qu'enterrer le mort, & different ces obſeques, & ceremonies à vn autre temps, & lieu, au bon plaiſir du ventre.

Cependant tous les parents & amis ſe barbouïillent la face de noir: & prou ſouuent ſe peignent d'autres couleurs; mais c'eſt pour ſe faire plus beaux & iolis; le noir leur est marq̃ du dueil & triſteſſe.

[91] Ils enterrent leurs morts en ceſte façon. Premierement ils emmaillottent le corps, & le garrotent dans des peaux; non de ſon long, ains les genoux contre le ventre, & la teſte ſur les genoux tout ainſi que nous ſommes dans le ventre de noſtre mere. Apres, la foſſe eſtant faicte fort creuſe, il l'y logent, non à la renuerſe ou couché comme nous: ains aſſis. Poſture en laquelle ils s'aimẽt fort, & qui entr'eux ſignifie reuerence. Car les enſans, & ieunes, s'aſſient ainſi en preſence de leurs peres & des vieux qu'ils reſpectent. Nous autres nous en rions, & diſons, que c'eſt s'aſſeoir en guenon, eux priſent ceſte façon & la trouuent commode. Depuis le corps logé, & n'arriuant pas à fleur de terre pour la profondeur de la foſſe; Ils voutent laditte foſſe auec des baſtons, à celle [92] fin que la terre ne retombe dedans, & ainſi couurent le tombeau au deſſus. Si c'eſt quelqu' illuſtre perſonnage, ils baſtiſſent vne forme de Pyramide, ou monument à tout des perches liées par en-

his wrongs, etc. They go on in this way until the dying man expires and then they utter horrible cries; and a terrible thing are their Nænias [funeral dirges] which continue day and night, sometimes lasting a whole week, according to how great the deceased is, and to the amount of provisions for the mourners. If there are none at all, they only bury the dead man, and postpone the obsequies and ceremonies until another time and place, at the good pleasure of their stomachs.

Meanwhile all the relatives and friends daub their faces with black, and very often paint themselves with other colors; but this they do to appear more pleasing and beautiful. To them black is a sign of grief and mourning.

[91] They bury their dead in this manner: First they swathe the body and tie it up in skins; not lengthwise, but with the knees against the stomach and the head on the knees, as we are in our mother's womb. Afterwards they put it in the grave, which has been made very deep, not upon the back or lying down as we do, but sitting. A posture which they like very much, and which among them signifies reverence. For the children and the youths seat themselves thus in the presence of their fathers, and of the old, whom they respect. We laugh at them, and tell them that way of sitting is the fashion with monkeys, but they like it and find it convenient. When the body is placed, as it does not come up even with the ground on account of the depth of the grave, they arch the grave over with sticks, so [92] that the earth will not fall back into it, and thus they cover up the tomb. If it is some illustrious personage they build a Pyramid or monument of interlacing poles; as eager in that for

ſemble: auſſi cupides de gloire en cela, que nous en nos marbres, & porphyres. Si c'eſt vn homme, ils y mettent pour enſeignes & marque ſon arc, ſes fleſches, & ſon pauois: Si vne femme des cueilliers, des *matachias*, ou iouyaux, & parures, &c.

I'ay penſé m'oublier du plus beau: c'eſt qu'ils inhument auec le defunct tout ce qu'il a, comme ſon ſac, ſes fleches, ſes peaux, & toutes ſes autres beſongnes & bagage, & encores ſes chiens, s'ils n'ont eſté mangés. Voire les viuants y adiouſtent encores pluſieurs telles offrandes pour amitié. Eſtimés par là, ſi ces bonnes [93] gens ſont loing de ceſte maudite auarice, que nous voyons entre nous; laquelle pour auoir les richeſſes des morts, deſire & pourchaſſe la perte, & treſpas des viuants.

Ces obſeques ainſi faictes, ils s'en fuyent du lieu, & hayſſent deſlors toute la memoire du mort. S'il arriue, qu'il en faille parler, c'eſt ſous vn autre nom nouueau. Comme par exemple le Sagamo Schoudon, eſtant mort, il fut appellé le Pere; Membertou nommé le grand Capitaine. Et ainſi du reſte.

Or toute leur Religion, pour le dire en vn mot, n'eſt autre qu'és ſorceleries & charmes des Autmoins, tels que nous vous auons recité cy deuant, parlants de leurs maladies. Ils ont beaucoup d'autres ſemblables ſacrifices faicts au Diable, pour auoir bonne fortune [94] à la chaſſe, pour la victoire, pour le bon vent, &c. Ils croyent auſſi aux ſonges, à fin que nulle ſorte de folie ne leur manque. Auſſi, dit-on, que ſouuent ces Necromantiens de Pilotoys prouoquent des ſpectres, & illuſions aux yeux de ceux qui les croyent, faiſants apparoiſtre des ſerpents & autres beſtes, qui entrent & ſortent de leur bouche

glory as we are in our marble and porphyry. If it is a man, they place there as a sign and emblem, his bow, arrows, and shield; if a woman, spoons, *matachias* or jewels, ornaments, etc.

I have nearly forgotten the most beautiful part of all; it is that they bury with the dead man all that he owns, such as his bag, his arrows, his skins and all his other articles and baggage, even his dogs if they have not been eaten. Moreover, the survivors add to these a number of other such offerings, as tokens of friendship. Judge from this whether these good [93] people are not far removed from this cursed avarice which we see among us; who, to become possessed of the riches of the dead, desire and seek eagerly for the loss and departure of the living.

These obsequies finished, they flee from the place, and, from that time on, they hate all memory of the dead. If it happens that they are obliged to speak of him sometimes, it is under another and a new name. As for instance, the Sagamore Schoudon [21] being dead, he was called "the Father" [Père.] Membertou was called "the great Captain," and so on.

Now all their religion, to speak briefly, is nothing else than the tricks and charms of the Autmoins, as we have related before in speaking of their illnesses. They have many other similar sacrifices which they make to the Devil, so they will have good luck [94] in the chase, victory, favorable winds, etc. They believe also in dreams, that no kind of nonsense may be wanting to them. Furthermore, they say that the Magic of the Pilotoys often calls forth spirits and optical illusions to those who believe them, showing snakes and other beasts which go in and out of the mouth while they are talking; and several other

tandis qu'ils harenguent : & pluſieurs autres ſemblables traicts de Magicien. Mais ie ne me ſuis iamais rencontré en tels ſpectacles. On nous donnoit auſſi à entendre deuant qu'arriuer là, que le malin eſprit tourmẽtoit ſenſiblemẽt le corps de ces pauures gẽts auãt le bapteſme, & non apres; ie n'ay rien veu de tout cela, ny ouy dire eſtant ſur le lieu, quoy que ie m'en ſois fort enqueſté. Ce que ie mets icy, à fin de rembarrer les [95] faux teſmoins de Dieu, comme les appelle S. Paul: c'eſt à dire, ceux qui racontent des faux miracles pour honnorer Dieu. Combien que l'eſcriuain du factum, qui a controuué tel menſonge, n'auoit pas deſſein d'honnorer Dieu, en auançãt ces miracles: ains de charger les Ieſuites cõmẽt que ce fuſt.

Les Sauuages m'ont bien ſouuent dit, que du temps de leurs Peres, & auant la venuë des François, le Diable les maſtinoit fort, mais qu'il ne le faict plus maintenant, comm'il appert. Membertou auſſi m'a aſſeuré qu'eſtant encores Autmoin (car il l'auoit eſté, & fort celebre) le Diable s'eſtoit apparu ſouuẽtesfois à luy: mais qu'il l'auoit quitté, ayant fort bien cogneu qu'il eſtoit meſchant, parce qu'il ne commandoit iamais que de mal faire. Voila tout ce que i'en ay peu apprendre.

[96] Ils croyent vn Dieu, ce diſent-ils: mais ils ne ſçauent le nommer que du nom du Soleil *Niſcaminou*, Ny ne ſçauent aucunes prieres, ny façon de l'adorer. Vn ieune Autmoin interrogé par moy ſur cela, reſpondit: Que quand ils eſtoyent en neceſſité il prenoit ſa robe ſacrée, (car les Autmoins ont vne robe precieuſe, exprés pour leurs Orgies) & ſe tournant vers l'Orient diſoit, *Niſcaminou hignemoüy ninem marcodam :*

Magical deeds of the same kind. But I never happened to be present at any of these spectacles. We were given to understand before we went there, that the evil spirit greatly tormented the bodies of these poor people before baptism, but not afterwards; I saw nothing of all this, nor heard of it while I was there, although I inquired into the matter very carefully. I put this down here in order to confute the [95] false witnesses of God, as St. Paul calls them; namely, those who relate false miracles in order to glorify God; to show that the writer of the memoir,[35] who has forged such a lie, does not intend to glorify God in advancing these miracles so much as to charge that they were manufactured by the Jesuits.

The Savages indeed have often told me that, in their Fathers' time, and before the coming of the French, the Devil tormented them a great deal, but that he does not do it any more, as it appears. Membertou has assured me that when he was still Autmoin (for he was one, and very celebrated too), the Devil appeared to him many times; but that he had avoided him, knowing well that he was wicked, because he never commanded him to do anything but evil. Now this is all I have been able to learn on this subject.

[96] They believe in a God, so they say; but they cannot call him by any name except that of the Sun, *Niscaminou*,[36] nor do they know any prayers or manner of worshipping him. When I asked a young Autmoin about this, he answered, that when they were in great need he put on his sacred robe (for the Autmoins have a precious robe, expressly for their Orgies) and turning toward the East said, *Niscaminou, hignemoüy nincm marcodam:* "Our Sun, or our God,

Noſtre Soleil, ou noſtre Dieu, donne nous à manger. Qu'apres cela ils alloyẽt à la chaſſe, & volontiers auec bõheur: autre choſe ne me ſceuſt il dire. Ils tiennent l'immortalité de l'ame, & la recompenſe des bons & des mauuais, cõfuſément & en general; mais ils ne paſſent point plus auant en recherche ny ſoucy, comment cela doit eſtre, occupés touſiours & preoccupés ou [97] des neceſſitez de la vie, ou de leurs vs & couſtumes. Voila briefuement le plus principal de ce que i'ay peu apperceuoir de ces nations, & de leur vie.

Mais ſi ores nous venons à ſommer le tout, & apparier leurs biẽs, & leurs maux auec les noſtres, ie ne ſçay ſi en verité ils n'ont point bonne raiſon de preferer (comm' ils font) leur felicité à la noſtre, au moins ſi nous parlons de la felicité temporelle, que les riches & mondains cherchent en ceſte vie. Car ſi bien ils n'ont pas toutes ces delices, que les enfans de ce ſiecle recherchent, ils ſont frãcs des maux qui les ſuiuent, & ont du contentement, qui ne les accompagne pas. Il eſt vray neantmoins, qu'ils ſont purement, & abſoluement miſerables, tant parce qu'ils n'ont aucune part en la felicité naturelle, qui eſt en la contemplation [98] de Dieu, & cognoiſſance des choſes grandes, & perfectiõ des parties nobles de l'ame, comme principalemẽt parce que ils ſont hors la grace de noſtre Seigneur IESVS-CHRIST, & le chemin du ſalut Eternel.

give us something to eat;" that after that they went hunting cheerfully and with good luck; he could not tell me anything more. They have an incoherent and general idea of the immortality of the soul and of future reward and punishment: but farther than this they do not seek nor care for the causes of these things, occupied and engrossed always either [97] in the material things of life, or in their own ways and customs. Now these are briefly the principal features of what I have been able to learn about these nations and their life.

But now if we come to sum up the whole and compare their good and ill with ours, I do not know but that they, in truth, have some reason to prefer (as they do) their own kind of happiness to ours, at least if we speak of the temporal happiness, which the rich and worldly seek in this life. For, if indeed they have not all those pleasures which the children of this age are seeking after, they are free from the evils which follow them, and have the contentment which does not accompany them. It is true, nevertheless, that they are purely and absolutely wretched, as much because they have no part in the natural happiness which is in the contemplation [98] of God, and in the knowledge of sublime things and in the perfection of the nobler parts of the soul, but chiefly because they are outside the grace of our Lord JESUS CHRIST, and the way of Eternal salvation.

CHAPITRE IX.

QUEL MOYEN IL Y PEUT AUOIR D'AIDER CES NATIONS À LEUR SALUT ETERNEL.

VOVS auez ouy iuſques icy, quel eſt le naturel des terres de la nouuelle France, & les façons, arts, & couſtumes principales des habitans. Or maintenant le tout bien conſideré, en fin, ie croy, que le reſultat de toutes les opinions, aduis, experiences, raiſons, & coniectures des Sages ne pourroit eſtre guieres que [99] ceſtui-cy, ſçauoir eſt, qu'il n'y a point d'apparence de iamais pouuoir cõuertir, ny aider ſolidement à ſalut ces Natiõs, ſi lon ny fonde vne peuplade Chreſtienne, & Catholique, ayant ſuffiſance de moyens pour viure, & de laquelle toutes ces contrées dependent, meſmes quand aux prouiſions, & neceſſités temporel. Tel eſt le reſultat, & concluſion des aduis.

Or comment eſt-ce que s'y pourroit dreſſer, fournir, & entretenir ceſte colonie, & peuplade? Ce n'eſt point icy le lieu d'en minuter, & articuler les chefs. Seulement aduertiray-ie, que c'eſt vne grande folie à des petits compagnons, que de s'imaginer des Baronnies, & ie ne ſçay quels grands fiefs, & tenements en ces terres, pour trois ou quatre mille eſcus, par exemple, qu'ils auront à y foncer. Le pis ſeroit, quand [100] ceſte folle vanité arriueroit à gens qui fuyent la ruine de leurs maiſons en France: car à tels conuoiteux infailliblement aduiendroit, non que, borgnes ils

CHAPTER IX.

ON THE MEANS AVAILABLE TO AID THESE NATIONS TO THEIR ETERNAL SALVATION.

YOU have heard up to the present about the nature of the lands of new France, and the more important habits, arts, and customs of the inhabitants. Now, after considering the whole subject thoroughly, the result of all these opinions, sentiments, experiments, arguments, and conjectures of the wise can hardly be otherwise than [99] this; namely, that there is no probability of ever being able to convert or really help these Nations to salvation, if there is not established there a Christian and Catholic colony, having a sufficiency of means to maintain it, and upon which all the countries depend, even as to provisions and temporal needs. Such is the result and conclusion of our investigations.

Now how can these colonists and emigrants be sheltered, provided for, and kept together there? This is not the place to go into details about it or even to enumerate the chief points. I shall only suggest that it is great folly for small companies to go there, who picture to themselves Baronies, and I know not what great fiefs and demesnes for three or four thousand écus, for example, which they will have to sink in that country. It would be still worse if [100] this foolish idea would occur to people who flee from the ruin of their families in France: for to such covetous people it invariably happens, not that, be-

regneroient entre les aueugles, ains qu'aueugles ils s'yroient precipiter en la foſſe de miſere, & poſſible feroiẽt-ils au lieu d'vn chaſteau Chreſtiẽ, vne cauerne de larrons, vn nid de brigands, vn receptacle d'eſcumeurs, vn refuge de pendarts, vn attelier de ſcandale, & toute meſchanceté. Qui ſeroit lors plus en peine à voſtre aduis? ou des gens de bien & craignãts Dieu, ſe trouuans enueloppés emmy telle compagnie, ou telle compagnie ſe trouuant liée, & contrainte par des gens de bien entremeſlez? Il y auroit des ſecouſſes infailliblement des vns contre les autres, & Dieu ſçait, quelle en pourroit eſtre l'yſſuë.

[101] Auſſi de l'autre coſté; ſi ne faut-il point tant exaggerer les deſpenſes, difficultez, & inconueniens poſſibles, qu'on en deſeſpere les moyens, & bon euenement. Car à la verité, pourueu qu'il y euſt du meſnage & bonne conduitte; i'eſtime qu'il y a pluſieurs maiſons particulieres dans Paris, & autre part, qui ont les moyens eſgaux à l'entreprinſe, voire & ſans grandement incommoder leurs affaires par deçà; ſi Dieu leur en donnoit la volonté.

ing one-eyed, they would be kings among the blind, but that, blind, they would go to throw themselves into a wretched pit; and possibly instead of a Christian stronghold, they would found a den of thieves, a nest of brigands, a receptacle for parasites, a refuge for rogues, a hotbed of scandal and all wickedness. Who would then be more afflicted, do you think; the honest and God-fearing people finding themselves surrounded by such company, or such company, finding itself hemmed in and restrained by the presence of honest people? There would undoubtedly be some friction among them, and God knows what would be the result thereof.

[101] Also, on the other hand, the expenses, difficulties, and possible inconveniences ought not to be so greatly exaggerated that the resources and success of the enterprise are despaired of. For in truth, if it should be managed and conducted well, I believe that there are several private houses in Paris, and elsewhere which have the means necessary for such an undertaking, even without greatly interfering with their affairs over here, if God would but give them the desire to do it.

CHAPITRE X.

DE LA NECESSITÉ, QU'IL Y A DE BIEN CATECHISER CES PEUPLES AUANT QUE LES BAPTISER.

C'EST contré nature en quelque eſpece que vous le [102] voudrez prendre, que l'enfant auſſi toſt né, auſſi toſt ſe nourriſſe, & ſouſtienne de ſoy-meſme: car en fin, ce n'eſt pas en vain que les mammelles groſſiſſent aux meres pour vn temps. Auſſi eſt-ce contre raiſon ce que quelques vns ſe ſont imaginez iuſques icy: qu'il n'eſt point neceſſaire de faire autre deſpenſe apres ceſte peuplade, que nous eſtabliſſons en la nouuelle France, ſinon pour du commencement y porter, & loger nos gens: eſtimans du reſte qu'ils y trouueront aſſés de quoy s'entretenir, ſoit par la trocque, ſoit autrement. Cela eſt vouloir faire naiſtre des enfants auec les dents & la barbe; & introduire des meres ſans mammelles, & ſans laict: ce que Dieu ne veut pas. Il y faudra touſiours deſpenſer les premiéres annees, iuſques à ce que la terre ſuffiſamment cultiuée, [103] les artifices introduicts, & les meſnages accommodés, le corps de la colonie ait prins vne iuſte accroiſſance, & fermeté: & à cela faut ſe reſoudre. Or tout de meſme, faut proceder pour le tẽporel; auſſi conuient-il le faire, & à ſemblable proportion pour le ſpirituel. Bien catechiſer, inſtruire, cultiuer, & accouſtumer les Sauuages, & auec longue patience, & n'attendre pas, que d'vn an, ny de deux ils deuiennent Chreſtiẽs, qui n'ayẽt beſoin ny de Curé, ny d'Eueſque; Dieu n'a point faict

CHAPTER X.

ON THE NECESSITY OF THOROUGHLY CATECHIZING THESE PEOPLE BEFORE BAPTIZING THEM.

IT is against nature, in whatever aspect you may [102] wish to take it, that the child, as soon as it is born, is able to nourish and sustain itself: for it is not in vain that the mother's breasts become large for a time. So what some have imagined up to the present is also unreasonable, that no other outlay is necessary for this colony which we are establishing in new France, except enough in the beginning to transport and locate our people yonder; supposing that they will find enough to maintain them there, either by trading or otherwise. That is like wishing to have children born with teeth and beards, and introducing mothers without breasts or milk, which God does not desire. Expenses will always be necessary there during the first years, until the land is sufficiently cultivated, [103] trades introduced, households arranged; and until the main parts of the colony have shown a reasonable and steady growth: and to that we must make up our minds. So, just as we must proceed with the temporal, as it is convenient to do, so in the same proportion with the spiritual; catechize, instruct, educate, and train the Savages properly and with long patience, and not expect that in one year, or in two, we can make Christians of people who have not felt the need of either a Priest or a Bishop. I am sure that God has never made any such Christians, and that he never will make them.

encores de tels Chreſtiens, ny n'en fera, comme ie croy. Car noſtre vie ſpirituelle depend de la Doctrine, & des Sacrements, & par conſequent de ceux qui nous adminiſtrent l'vn & l'autre, ſelon ſon inſtitution ſaincte.

Mais ſi par tout il faut diligemment Catechiſer les peuples auãt [104] que les introduire dans l'Egliſe; & leur communiquer le Sacrement de regeneration; c'eſt en ces lieux, où ſur tout il le faut. La raiſon eſt, parce que ces Canadiens ſont vagabonds (comme nous auons dit,) & ayans leur vie çà & là ſans arreſt; & qui partant ne pourront aſſiſter ordinairement ny à meſſes, ny à prieres ou offices publics, ny frequẽter ſermons, ny receuoir les ſacrements, ny auoir des Preſtres auec eux: comment eſt ce donc que vous voulez qu'ils ſe puiſſent entretenir en la foy & grace de Dieu, s'ils ne sõt bien inſtruits, & au double des autres? Car nous, qui viuons entre les troupes des Religieux, & ſous la garde de tant de Paſteurs, & en l'affluence de tant de bons liures, exemples, loix & police, à peine le pouuons nous, qui ſommes vieux, & pour le dire ainſi, [105] naturaliſés Chreſtiens, comment le pourront-ils faire tous nouueaux qu'ils ſont, ſeuls, ſans garde, ſans lettres, ſans inſtitution, ſans couſtume? Or de dire que c'eſt aſſés d'engendrer, ſans penſer cõment on donnera l'entretien, c'eſt iuſtement dire, que c'eſt bien fait de donner vie, pour l'oſter auec cruauté, ce qui n'eſt pas acte de Pere, ains de pire que meurtrier. Tout de meſme en eſt-il en la regeneration ſpirituelle, laquelle ſe faict par le Bapteſme. Car la donner, ſans pouruoir à la nourriture du regeneré, c'eſt faire ce qu'a dit noſtre Sauueur; chaſſer le Diable d'vne maiſon, à celle fin qu'i-

For our spiritual life depends upon the Doctrine and the Sacraments, and consequently upon those who administer them, according to his holy institution.

But if it is necessary throughout the world to diligently Catechize the people before [104] introducing them into the Church, and to communicate to them the Sacrament of regeneration, it is necessary above all to do it in these places; the reason being that the Canadians are a wandering people (as we have said) and pass their lives here and there without permanent settlements; therefore they cannot ordinarily attend mass nor prayers nor public services, nor hear sermons, nor receive the sacraments nor have Priests with them. How then do you think that they can maintain themselves in the faith and grace of God, if they do not receive instruction, and twice as much of it as the others? For we who are surrounded by the Religious, and are under the care of so many Pastors, and have such an abundance of good books, examples, laws and polity, can scarcely do it ourselves, who are old and, so to speak, [105] naturalized Christians; then how can they do it, all crude as they are, alone, without care, without letters, without precepts, without practice? Now to say that it is enough to beget, without thinking of how to maintain, is really saying that it is good to give life in order to take it away cruelly, which is not the act of a Father, but is worse than that of a murderer. Nevertheless this is done in the spiritual regeneration which is accomplished through Baptism. For to give it without providing for the nourishment of the regenerated, is doing what our Savior has said; driving the Devil out from a house so that when it is swept and garnished the vanquished enemy may re-

celle eſtant balliée, & parée, l'ennemy dechaſſé y rentre de nouueau, non ja ſeul, ains accompagné de ſept autres, pires que luy, & par ainſi faire que le miſerable regeneré ſoit apres ſon Bapteſme [106] en plus piteux eſtat de beaucoup, qu'il n'eſtoit deuant qu'eſtre baptiſé. D'auãtage la practique a des-ja mõſtré ceſte neceſſité de bien catechiſer auant le Bapteſme en vn païs où la gẽt n'eſtoit point Sauuage, ains ciuile; non coureuſe, mais arreſtee; non abandonnee, ains ſur-veillee de Paſteurs, ſçauoir eſt, au Peru & Mexique. Car au commencemẽt on y baptiſa fort facilemẽt. Qu'en aduint-il? On ſe trouua ſubitemẽt ſur les bras, pluſtoſt vne Synagogue de Samaritains, qu'vn' Egliſe de fidelles. Car ces toſt Baptiſez venoyent bien à l'Egliſe, mais ils y marmotoyent leurs anciennes idolatries Ils chommoyent les feſtes commandées; mais en faiſant leurs anciens ſacrifices, danſes, & ſuperſtitions, ils alloyent à la ſaincte Communion, ſi l'on vouloit, mais c'eſtoit ſans ſçauoir ny *Credo*, [107] ny *Confiteor*. Et au ſortir de là, s'en alloyent enyurer, & chanter au Diable leurs ſorceleries accouſtumées. Quel remede à ces malheurs? Quelle couuerture à ces infamies? O qu'il a fallu que ceux-là ayent ſué, qui ſont ſuruenus depuis: là où facilement, & en peu de temps ceſt'yuraye euſt peu eſtre deſracinée dés le commencement, en bien labourãt le chãp auant que l'enſemencer. Ie veux dire, en gardant l'ancien vſage de l'Egliſe de donner le Bapteſme reſeruément, ayant premieremẽt des Poſtulans & Requerans, & puis des Catechumenes, & à la parfin des Baptiſés. Auſſi le maiſtre de toute Sapience à dit treſſagement: *Que la terre fructifie premierement l'herbe, puis l'eſpy, & en fin le plein froument en l'eſpy.* Ioſeph

enter, not alone but accompanied by seven others, more wicked than himself; and thus bring it about that the unhappy regenerated is after Baptism [106] in a much more pitiable state than he was before being baptized. Furthermore, experience has already shown this need of properly catechizing before Baptizing, in a country where the people are not Savage but civilized; not wandering, but stationary; not abandoned, but under the watchful care of Pastors, namely in Peru and Mexico. For at first they baptized them very readily. What happened then? They unexpectedly found on their hands a Synagogue of Samaritans rather than a Church of the faithful. For these who were too soon Baptized willingly came to Church but it was to mutter there their ancient idolatries. They observed the appointed saints' days, but it was while carrying on their ancient sacrifices, dances, and superstitions; they went to holy Communion, if it was desired, but without knowing either the *Creed* [107] or *Confession*, and emerging from there, they went off to get drunk and to sing to the Devil their usual sorceries. What remedy for these evils? What cloak for these infamies? O how those who have come since, have been obliged to toil there where these tares might quickly and easily have been eradicated at first, if the field had been well ploughed before sowing it. I mean by observing the ancient practice of the Church in giving Baptism cautiously, first having Postulants and Seekers, then Catechumens, and at last Baptism. For the master of all Wisdom has said very wisely: *That the earth first bringeth forth the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear.* Joseph Acosta [28] has very properly observed this fault, which I have mentioned above,

Acoſta à tres bien remarqué la faute, que i'ay dite cy deuant, & elle [108] n'eſt point excuſable apres le iugemẽt formel & ſentence de l'Egliſe. Voyez le Canon, *Ante baptiſmum. de conſec. diſtinct.* 4. & les ſuiuants.

Certes ie ſuis marry de le dire, & m'en tairois fort volontiers, n'eſtoit la neceſſité, qui me contraint, à cauſe que, ou par malice, ou bien par ignorance lourde, on accuſe les Ieſuites en choſe, où toutesfois ils ont paru eſtre vrayement ſinceres, & cõſtants ſeruiteurs de Dieu. Car il eſt vray qu'iceux arriués en la nouuelle France, ils trouuerẽt qu'on y auoit ja baptiſé (à ce qu'on diſoit) enuiron quatre vingts perſonnes, mais ils n'ẽ peurent auoir la liſte, quoy qu'ils miſſent peine de la recouurer. Or rẽcontrans aucuns de ces nouueaux baptiſez, ils taſcherent à recognoiſtre leur portée, & recogneurent pour tout, qu'ils ne ſçauoyent [109] pas meſme faire le ſigne de la Croix; aucuns ignoroyent leur nom de Bapteſme, & interrogés s'ils eſtoyent Chreſtiens, ils faiſoyent ſigne de n'auoir iamais ouy ce mot. Ils ne ſçauoyent point de prieres, ny de creance, & ne monſtroyent aucun changement du paſſé, retenoyent touſiours les meſmes forceleries anciennes, ne venãs encores à l'Egliſe q̃ comme les non baptiſés, c'eſt à dire aucunefois, par cõpagnie, ou curioſité, & aſſez indeuotemẽt. Voire quelques François nous rapportoyent, que quand ils eſtoyent à part ils ſe mocquoyẽt inſolẽment de nos ceremonies, & qu'au fonds, & à les bien ſonder, ils n'auoyent prins le Bapteſme, que pour vne marque d'eſtre amis des Normans, car ainſi nous appellent-ils. On exceptoit de ce nombre, le grand Membertou, car de vray ceſtuy-là [110] eſtoit Chreſtien de cœur, &

and it [108] is not excusable, after the formal judgment and decree of the Church. See the Canon, *Ante baptiſmum. de conſec. diſtinct.* 4. and what follows.

I am truly grieved to say it, and would willingly be silent were it not necessity which constrains me, because, either through malice or very gross ignorance, they accuse the Jesuits of things in which nevertheless they have seemed truly sincere and faithful servants of God. But it is true that when they arrived in new France, they found that about eighty persons had already been baptized there (as they said); but they could not get the list of names, although they put themselves to some trouble to do so. Now, encountering some of these new converts, they tried to find out the extent of their knowledge, and for all found out that they did not know [109] even how to make the sign of the Cross; some did not know their Baptismal names, and when asked if they were Christians, they made signs to show that they had never heard the word. They did not know any prayers, nor articles of faith, and gave no evidence of any change from the past, always retaining the same old sorceries, coming to Church moreover, only as the unbaptized, that is, occasionally, for company's sake, or through curiosity, and not in a devotional spirit. Indeed some of our countrymen tell us, that when they were by themselves, they insolently made sport of our ceremonies, and that really, when they were well sounded, it was learned that they had accepted Baptism solely as a sign of friendship with the Normans, for thus they call us. An exception to this number was the great Membertou, for truly he [110] was a Christian at heart, and desired nothing better than to be able to receive thorough instruction so he

ne deſiroit rien tant que de pouuoir eſtre bien inſtruict, pour inſtruire les autres. Les Ieſuites dõc apperceuants tout cecy, ſe reſolurent de ne point baptiſer aucun adulte, ſinõ apres que ſelon les Saincts Canons, il auroit eſté bien initié, & catechiſé. Car le faire autremẽt ils recognoiſſoyẽt fort bien eſtre non ſeulement vne prophanation du Chriſtianiſme, ains auſſi vn'iniuſtice enuers les Sauuages. Car puis que c'eſt iniuſtice d'induire quelqu'vn à ſigner vne promeſſe, ou ſerment obligatoire ſans luy donner à entendre les conditions auſquelles il s'aſtraint: combien plus le ſera-il de pouſſer vn hõme de ſens, & d'aage competent à faire profeſſion ſolemnelle de la loy de Dieu, (ce qui ſe faict par le Bapteſme,) ſans qu'il ait eſté iamais au parauãt nouice, ny qu'on [111] luy ait donné à entendre les regles & deuoirs de ſaditte profeſſion? Les Sauuages n'ont point eſté ſi hebetés, qu'ils n'ayent fort bien ſceu nous reprocher ceſt' iniuſtice, d'autant qu'apres ces bapteſmes, que nous auons dit, comme les Ieſuites requeroyent, qu'ils quittaſſent la Polygamie, & veſcuſſent Chreſtiennement, puis qu'ils s'y eſtoyent obligés; ils leur dirent, que nous eſtions de meſchantes gents, qui leur voulions faire accroire qu'ils euſſent cõtracté à des conditions, leſquelles ils n'auoyent iamais entendu, ny peu entendre. A ces cauſes dõc les Ieſuites dilayants le Bapteſme de ceux, qui le deſiroyent, ſe mirent auec toute diligẽce poſſible à traduire en Canadois l'oraiſon Dominicale, & la ſalutation de l'Ange, le Symbole, & les Commandements de Dieu, & de l'Egliſe [112] auec vne petite explication des Sacremens, & quelques oraiſons, car c'eſtoit toute la Theologie, de laquelle ils auoyent beſoin. Si n'y euſt-il moyen

could teach the others. Now the Jesuits, perceiving all these things, resolved not to baptize a single adult, unless he had, according to the Holy Canons, been well initiated and catechized. For they well understood that to do otherwise would not only be a profanation of Christianity, but also an injustice towards the Savages. For, inasmuch as it is an injustice to induce any one to sign a promise, or compulsory oath, without giving him to understand the conditions to which he binds himself: how much worse is it to force a rational being of competent age to make a solemn profession of the law of God (which is done through Baptism), when he has never before been a novice, nor [111] been made to understand the rules and duties of this profession? The Savages were not so stupid but that they knew enough to reproach us for this injustice, inasmuch as, after these baptisms of which we have spoken, when the Jesuits requested that they should give up Polygamy, and should live like Christians, since they were in duty bound to do so; they told them that we were wicked people, that we had tried to make them believe that they should agree to conditions that they had never understood, nor been able to understand. Now for these reasons the Jesuits, delaying the Baptism of those who desired it, put themselves to work with all possible diligence to translate into Canadian the Lord's prayer, the Angelic salutation,[24] the Creed, and the Commandments of God and of the Church, [112] with a brief explanation of the Sacraments, and some prayers, for this was all the Theology they needed. However, there was no way of accomplishing either a third or fourth of all this, as we shall show by and by.

d'en venir à bout; nõ pas d'vn tiers, ou quart de tout cela, ainſi que nous monſtrerons tantoſt.

Cependant voicy vn grãd murmure, qui s'eſleue entre nos François, de ce qu'on ne baptiſoit point. Car nous ſommes en vn ſiecle, auquel, qui ſçait lire, eſt à ſon opinion, grand Theologien: & qui a le moindre ſoin de ſon ame, eſt à ſon aduis le plus apte pour regir l'Egliſe de Dieu, & pour entreprendre ſur les oingts du Sauueur. Cecy n'eſt point tolerable (diſoient-ils, ainſi que le *Factum* le profeſſe) ces gens cy ſont inutiles: Il en faut eſcrire en Frãce: & autres menaces, leſquelles ils vindrent faire au P. Biard, [113] lequel taſcha de les appaiſer, & entre autres choſes leur dit: Mes amys, ſi les Ieſuites euſſent eſté conuoyteux de vaine gloire, vous leur monſtrez la route, qu'ils deuoyent tenir; de toſt baptiſer le plus de gens, qu'ils euſſent peu; parce qu'il y a bien à preſumer, que ces conuerſions eſtans ſceües en France, les Imprimeurs de Paris n'euſſent pas eſté plus negligents, ny les Colporteurs plus enroüez à crier telles nouuelles par les rues de la ville en leur recommandation. Mais à Dieu ne plaiſe, (diſoit-il) que nous voulions ſembler Apoſtres, n'eſtans que miſerables pecheurs; ny que nous voulions acquerir le bruict de bons meſnagers, & diligens ſeruiteurs, en diſſipant l'heritage de noſtre Maiſtre. On meſdira de nous, nous le ſentons prou: ne croyez pas que nous ſoyons ſi ſtupides. [114] Mais il ne faut non plus laiſſer le bien pour l'infamie, que l'entreprendre pour les loüanges. C'eſt à Dieu à qui nous ſeruons, & à la maiſon de qui ſi nous deuons apporter aucun fruict, c'eſt en patience, car ainſi l'a-il dit, *Il apportera fruict en patience.* Nous baptiſons les petits enfans, comme

Meanwhile, many complaints arose among our French people because no one was being baptized. For we live in an age in which any one who knows how to read is, in his own opinion, a great Theologian; and whoever has the least care for his own soul, believes himself to be the most proper person to rule the Church of God, and to infringe upon the duties of the Lord's anointed. "This is not to be tolerated" (they were saying, according to the *Factum*[25]); "these people are useless here; we must write to France about them;" and other threats, which were made to Father Biard, [113] who tried to pacify them, and among other things said: "My friends, if the Jesuits were ambitious for mere glory, you would show them the right way to attain it; i.e., to baptize, as soon as possible, as many people as they can; for it is certainly to be supposed that, these conversions being known in France, the Printers of Paris would not have delayed to make the Hawkers hoarse, crying and commending such news through the streets of the city. But God forbid" (said he) "that we should wish to assume the role of Apostles, being only miserable sinners; or that we should try to acquire the reputation of good managers, and diligent servants, while squandering our Master's inheritance. We shall be slandered, we are well aware of it; do not believe that we are so stupid. [114] But just as little must you desist from doing good for fear of calumny as you must undertake it for love of praise. It is God whom we serve, and if we are to bring any fruit to his house it must be in patience, for thus he has said it, *He bringeth forth fruit with patience.* We baptize the little children, as you see, in accordance with their parents' wishes, and with the hope that we shall have

vous voyez de la volonté de leurs parens,& ſoubs l'eſperãce, que nous aurons moyen de les inſtruire, quand ils viendront à l'vſage de raiſon. Les aagez, qui meurent, nous les baptisõs auſſi, les catechiſants du mieux que nous pouuõs, & que le temps le permet; Quant aux autres, qui ſont hors le peril de mort, nous les baptiſerons auſſi, quand par voſtre ayde nous les pourrons inſtruire en leur langage, & qu'eux nous ſçaurõt reſpondre. Car il faut que le baptiſé adulte reſponde luy-meſme, & [115] non le parrain pour luy. Aydez-nous, & priez pour cela ſelon voſtre grand zele, & ne vous tourmentez, penſants qu'ils periront, s'ils n'ont receu le Bapteſme: car auſſi bien periront-ils, & piremẽt, s'ils l'auoyent receu ſans bonne diſpoſition: comme ſi apres le Bapteſme, ils meurent en peché mortel, ils periſſent. Que ſi vous repliquez, qu'apres le Bapteſme leurs pechez leur ſeront pardonnez par la ſeule contrition, en cas qu'ils n'ayent point de Prophetes pour ſe confeſſer; Auſſi vous dy-ie, que par la meſme deteſtation de leurs pechez, auec la volonté de receuoir le Bapteſme, ils ſeront ſauuez, en cas qu'ils ne rencontrẽt aucũ qui puiſſe le leur appliquer. Partant vouz voyez, que la premiere choſe, que nous taſchons de leur apprendre, c'eſt la maniere de ſe conuertir à Dieu de tout leur [116] cœur par vraye contrition, & deſir, de s'vnir, & incorporer auec noſtre Sauueur Iesvs-Christ. Car c'eſt vne diſpoſition pour receuoir le Bapteſme meſme: Et elle eſt telle, qu'elle ſuffit à ſalut, quand on ne peut receuoir le Sacrement par effect. Il eſt vray, nous auons la jambe fort peſante pour monter meſme ce premier degré; mais courage par vos prieres, Dieu nous renforcera de ſon S. Eſprit. Telles & autres ſemblables

means of instructing them, when they come to a reasonable age. The aged, who die, we also baptize, catechizing them as well as we can, and as time permits. As to the others, who are not in immediate danger of death, we shall baptize them also when, with your help, we shall be able to instruct them in their own language, and when they will know how to answer us. For the adult who is baptized, must answer for himself, and [115] not the godfather for him. Help us, and pray for this in proportion to your own great zeal, and do not worry, thinking they will perish if they have not received Baptism; for surely they will perish, and in a worse manner, if they have received it in a bad spirit: just as, after Baptism, if they die in mortal sin, they perish. But if you reply that after Baptism their sins will be pardoned through repentance alone, if they have no Prophets to receive their confession; I say to you also that through the same detestation of sin, with the wish to receive Baptism, they will be saved if they do not find any one who will administer it to them. Therefore you see that the first thing we try to teach them is, how to bring themselves to God with their whole [116] hearts through true repentance, and the desire to unite and incorporate themselves with our Savior, JESUS CHRIST. For this is the proper spirit in which to receive Baptism itself; and it is such, that it suffices for salvation, when the Sacrament cannot actually be received. It is true our legs drag in reaching this first step; but courage! through your prayers, God will strengthen us by his Holy Spirit." These, and other similar reasons, were at that time deduced by the said Father Biard, and have often been repeated since, but they have never

raiſons furent pour lors deduictes par ledit P. Biard, & ont eſté ſouuent repetées deſpuis, ſans que iamais on s'en ſoit voulu contenter; marque infaillible, que lon cherchoit quelque autre choſe, que raiſon.

Or à l'occaſion des Colonies, & de leur bon eſtabliſſemẽt, duquel nous parlions; nous ſommes deualez ſur le propos du Catechiſme, [117] & ſur la defenſe des Ieſuites: non ſans neceſſité à mon aduis, ny ſans profit bien grand. Ores, puis que nous auons fait mention du *Factum*, eſcrit contre leſdits Ieſuites, & qu'il nous faudra d'ores-en-auant coup ſur coup, en conuaincre les menſonges: c'eſt icy à nous d'expoſer, quel eſt ce *Factum*, qui ſon Eſcriuain, & quelles cauſes il ſe dit auoir eu de ſortir au monde.

carried conviction: an infallible sign, that something else besides reason was sought for.

Now as to the Colonies, and their proper establishment, of which we were speaking; we have stepped down from them to the subject of the Catechism [117] and to the defense of the Jesuits, not without necessity in my opinion, nor without great profit. For since we have mentioned the *Factum* written against the said Jesuits, and as we must from now on expose, one by one, the lies therein contained, it is for us here to explain what that *Factum* is, who was its Author, and what are said to have been the causes for its being issued to the world.

CHAPITRE XII. [i. e., xi.]

A QUELLE OCCASION LES IESUITES ALLERENT EN LA NOUUELLE FRANCE, L'AN 1611. & CE QUE LES FRANÇOIS Y FIRENT DÉS L'AN 1608. IUSQUES À LEUR VENUË.

NOVS auons cy-deuant diſcouru des terres, & peuples de la Nouuelle France, & parlãts [118] du moyen de pouuoir ayder ces Nations: à ceſte occaſion nous ſommes tombez ſur le *Factum* eſcrit, & publié contre les Ieſuites. Or d'autant, que ce difamateur, & factieux (ainſi le nommeray-ie d'ores-en-auant,) commençant dés l'embarquement des Ieſuites, les pourſuit, comme à la trace en Canada par boys, & riuieres, mer, & terres, de iour & de nuict, en tous leurs voyages & demeures, eſpiant par tout de tirer ſur eux à couuert & proditoirement quelques impoſtures, & calomnies. A ceſte cauſe il nous faut de neceſſité reprendre meſmes erres pour defendre l'innocence, & rapporter au vray ce qui eſt de leurs actions, & deportements: ainſi que i'ay promis de faire en l'Auant-propos. Et jaçoit qu'à ceſt'occaſion nous ſerons contraincts ſouuent de particulariſer pluſieurs [119] petits affaires, non guiere bien conuenables à la grauité d'vn' hiſtoire, ny à la dignité d'vn Lecteur honnorable; toutesfois i'eſtime que de ceſte mienne diligẽce on pourra tirer trois grands fruicts, outre la recognoiſſance de la verité d'auec les fraudes, & bourdes, qui de ſoy meſme ſeroit fort profitable.

CHAPTER XII. [i. e., xi.]

ON THE CAUSES WHICH LED THE JESUITS TO GO TO NEW FRANCE IN 1611, AND WHAT HAD BEEN ACCOMPLISHED THERE BY THE FRENCH FROM THE YEAR 1608 UP TO THE TIME OF THEIR ARRIVAL.

WE have discoursed above upon the countries and peoples of New France, and in speaking [118] of the means of aiding these Nations, we stumbled upon the *Factum*, written and published against the Jesuits. Now inasmuch as this slanderer and factionist (which I shall call him hereafter), beginning with the embarkation of the Jesuits, pursues them, dogging their footsteps in Canada through woods and rivers, upon sea and land, day and night, in all their travels and dwelling places,— everywhere spying them out, to draw down upon them, covertly and treacherously, his impostures and calumnies; for this reason we must of necessity go back upon our route, to defend the innocent and to give a true account of their actions and conduct, as I promised to do in the Preface. And although on this account we shall often be obliged to go into details about many [119] little things which are scarcely in harmony with the gravity of a history or the dignity of an honorable Reader; nevertheless I believe that if I give heed to these things three great results will be derived therefrom, besides the discrimination of truth from falsehood and imposition, which in itself would be very profitable.

Le premier emolument, que le ſage Lecteur en tirera eſt, que de la practique, actions, voyages, & accidents, que nous luy ſpecifierons l'vn apres l'autre, il recognoiſtra beaucoup mieux, ce qui eſt de ces terres, de leur naturel, du moyẽ de les aider, & les accidẽs de telles expeditions & entreprinſes.

Le ſecond qu'il rencontrera tãt d'euenements, & ſi diuers, tant de fortunes, & incidents auec leurs moments & articles, que ſa prudẽce pourra beaucoup s'y former. [120] Car en verité, c'eſt tout autre choſe de philoſopher en theſe, & de practiquer en hypotheſe: de mouler ſes idees en chambre, & d'eſclorre ſes actions entre les hõmes: de faire ſon compte ſur la liberté du genre, & ſe trouuer puis apres aſſeruy au lieu, temps, perſonnes, & mille petits incidents, mais qui eſtreignent bien fort; de nul prix, mais qui ſouuent neantmoins font changer de reſolutiõ, & de fortune. Or c'eſt en l'exercice de ces particulieres circõſtãces, & practique, qu'on acquiert la prudence; non en vne veuë, & recognoiſſance ſommaire, & vniuerſelle.

Le tiers fruict ſera de recognoiſtre vne vrayement paternelle, douce & admirable prouidence de Dieu ſur ceux, qui l'inuoquent, & ſe fient en luy parmy les hazards, & varietés de ceſte [121] vie, tels qu'on en verra icy beaucoup. Ces trois profits, à mon aduis, pourront bien contre-balancer la lõgueur du temps, qui s'employera en ceſte lecture.

Mais à celle fin, que le tout s'entende mieux, il nous conuient retourner à ceux, qu'auons ja dés ſi long temps laiſſés: ſçauoir eſt, aux François, qui retournerent de Canada en leur pays, l'an 1607.

Il vous a eſté raconté, comme ſur la fin de ladicte

The first advantage that the wise Reader will derive from this, is that from the experiences, actions, journeys, and accidents which we shall relate to him, one after the other, he will understand much better what these countries are, their nature, the means of helping them, and the vicissitudes of such expeditions and enterprises.

The second is that he will encounter so many and so different events, so many fortunes and incidents with their opportunities and details, that his discretion will be thus greatly strengthened. [120] For in truth, it is a very different thing for a man to philosophize in thesis, and to practice by hypothesis: to mould his ideas in his chamber, and to give form to his deeds among men: to count upon the liberty of the race, and then to find himself enslaved by place, time, people, and a thousand incidents which are trifling, but which very effectually bind him; of no value, yet they often change his purpose and his destiny. Now it is through experience with these particular circumstances and practices, that prudence is acquired; not in a comprehensive and general survey and examination.

The third fruit will be in the recognition of a truly paternal, gentle, and admirable providence of God over those who invoke it, and trust themselves to him among the dangers and changes of this [121] life, such as will be often seen here. These three benefits, it seems to me, will certainly offset the tediousness of the time which will be employed in this reading.

But to the end that all may be better understood, it is well for us to return to those whom we have left for so long a time, namely, to the French, who returned to their own country from Canada, in 1607.

année 1607. tout le train du ſieur de Monts s'en reuint en France, & fut lors ceſte nouuelle France entieremẽt abandonnée des François. Neantmoins l'an ſuiuant 1608. le ſieur de Monts conſtitua ſon Lieutenãt le ſieur Champlain, & le manda deſcouurir au long de la grande riuiere S. Laurens; Champlain y fit vaillamment, & fonda l'habitation de Kebec. Mais quant aux [122] faicts, voyages, & deſcouuertures dudit Champlain, il n'eſt ja beſoin, que ie les vous crayonne, puis que luy meſme les a ſi bien, & ſi au long depeint en ſes liures.

Or le ſieur Iean de Biencourt, appellé de Potrincourt auant que le ſieur de Monts partiſt de la nouuelle France, luy demanda en don Port Royal. Le ſieur de Monts le luy accorda, moyennant, que dans les deux ans prochains ledit de Potrincourt s'y tranſportaſt auec pluſieurs autres familles pour le cultiuer, & habiter ainſi qu'il promettoit de faire. Doncques l'an 1607. tous les François eſtants reuenus (ainſi qu'a eſté dict,) le ſieur de Potrincourt preſenta à feu d'immortelle memoire Henry le Grand la donnation à luy faicte par le ſieur de Monts, requerant humblemẽt ſa Majeſté de la ratifier. Le Roy [123] euſt pour agreable ladicte Requeſte, & proiettant en ſoy de puiſſamment remettre ſus ceſte Françoiſe peuplade, dit au P. Coton, qu'il vouloit ſe ſeruir de leur Compagnie en la conuerſion des Sauuages. Qu'il en eſcriuit au P. General: & qu'on deſignaſt aucuns, qui ſe diſpoſaſſent à ces voyages. Qu'il les appelleroit au premier temps; promettant dés lors deux mille liures pour leur entretien.

Le Pere Coton obeït à ſa Majeſté, & bien toſt par tous les Colleges de la France fut entendu, qu'on en

You have been told how, towards the end of the year 1607, sieur de Monts's entire company returned to France, and this new France was then entirely deserted by our countrymen. However, in the following year, 1608, sieur de Monts chose as his Lieutenant sieur de Champlain, and sent him on a tour of discovery along the great St. Lawrence river; Champlain did admirably there, establishing the settlement of Kebec.[26] But as to the [122] deeds, journeys, and discoveries of the said Champlain, there is no need of my outlining them to you, as he himself has given such long and excellent descriptions of them in his books.

Now sieur Jean de Biencourt, called de Potrincourt, before sieur de Monts left new France, asked from him the gift of Port Royal. Sieur de Monts granted it to him, stipulating that within the two succeeding years sieur de Potrincourt should go there with several other families to cultivate and inhabit it, which he promised to do. Now in 1607, all the French having returned (as has been said), sieur de Potrincourt presented to the late Henry the Great, of immortal memory, the deed of gift made to him by sieur de Monts, humbly requesting his Majesty to ratify it.[27] The King [123] favored the Request, and, contriving some way by which he could give effective aid to this French colony, told Father Coton that he would like to make use of his Society for the conversion of the Savages; that he should write to the Father-General about it; and that they should designate some persons who should prepare to undertake these voyages; that he would summon them at the first opportunity; promising henceforward two thousand livres for their support.

deuoit choiſir quelques vns pour ceſte miſſion. Pluſieurs ſe preſenterent pour eſtre de la partie, comme eſt la couſtume en telles expeditions beaucoup penibles, & peu honorables; & entre autres ſe preſenta le P. Pierre Biard, enſeignant [124] pour lors la Theologie à Lyon, Dieu vouluſt que ledit Pere fut choiſi, & enuoyé à Bourdeaux ſur la fin de l'an 1608. Parce qu'on penſoit à Lyon, que le project d'vn Prince tant efficace, ayant eſté ſignifié dés tant de mois, l'execution n'en pouuoit eſtre que bien proche. Mais le P. Biard fut autant deceu du lieu, que du temps. Car à Bourdeaux on fut eſtonné, quand on ouyt ce pourquoy il y venoit. Nulle nouuelle d'embarquement pour Canada, ouy bien du debris, & deſroute paſſée, de laquelle chacun philoſophoit à ſa façon. Nul appreſt, nul bruit ou nouuelle.

Sur la fin de l'an ſuiuant 1609. Le ſieur de Potrincourt vint à Paris, où ſa Majeſté ayant ſceu, que contre ſon opinion ledit ſieur n'auoit bougé de France (car le Roy le croyoit auoir paſſé la mer auſſi [125] toſt apres auoir obtenu la confirmation de Port Royal.) Il ſe faſcha cõtre luy. Dequoy ledit ſieur fort touché, reſpondit, que puis que ſa Majeſté auoit ceſt affaire tant à cœur deſlors il prenoit congé d'elle, & que de ce pas il s'en alloit mettre ordre à s'equipper pour ſon voyage. Or le P. Coton, qui eſtoit en peine pour le Pere Biard, & pour la grande ſemonce, qu'il auoit faict au nom du Roy, ayant ſceu le congé prins du ſieur de Potrincourt, l'alla trouuer, & luy offrit compagnie d'aucuns de ſon Ordre. Il receut reſponſe que mieux ſeroit d'attendre l'an ſuiuant; qu'auſſi toſt eſtãt arriué à Port Royal il renuoyeroit ſon fils en France; & qu'auec iceluy toutes choſes

Father Coton obeyed his Majesty, and soon through all the colleges of France it was understood that persons were to be chosen for this mission. Many offered themselves to take part in the work, as is usual in such expeditions, in which there is a great deal of work and very little honor; and among others who presented themselves was Father Pierre Biard, then teaching [124] Theology at Lyons; God willed that the said Father should be chosen and sent to Bourdeaux towards the end of the year 1608. For they thought at Lyons that the project of so powerful a Prince, having been known so many months before, could not be otherwise than speedily executed. But Father Biard was as much deceived in regard to the place, as the time. For at Bourdeaux they were very much surprised when they heard why he had come there. There was no news of any embarkation for Canada, but there was of the former wreck and ruin, upon which each one philosophized in his own fashion. No preparation, no reports or tidings.

Towards the end of the year 1609, sieur de Potrincourt came to Paris, where his Majesty, having learned that, contrary to his belief, the said sieur had not stirred from France, (for the King supposed that he had crossed the sea immediately [125] after having obtained confirmation of the Port Royal grant), was angry with him. Whereupon the said sieur, very much aggrieved, answered that, since his Majesty had this affair so much at heart, he would take leave of him at once, to go directly and look after the equipment for his voyage. Now Father Coton, who was troubled about Father Biard, and about the great invitation he had given him in the King's name, having heard of the farewell of sieur

eſtant mieux diſpoſées, ceux-là viendroyẽt, qu'il plairoit au Roy d'enuoyer. Sur ce il partit de Paris, & conſuma tout [126] l'Hyuer à ſe preparer.

L'an ſuiuant 1610. il s'embarqua ſur la fin de Feurier, & n'arriua que bien tard à Port Royal, ſçauoir eſt ſur le commencement de Iuin, où ayant aſſemblé le plus de Sauuages qu'il peut, il en fit baptiſer enuiron 24. ou 25. le iour de la ſainct Iean, par vn Preſtre appellé Meſſire Ioſſé Fleſche, ſurnommé le Patriarche. Peu apres, il renuoya en France le ſieur de Biencourt ſon fils, aagé d'enuiron 19. ans, pour apporter ces nouuelles du bapteſme des Sauuages; & rapporter bien toſt ſecours: car on eſtoit aſſez mal pourueu, pour paſſer l'Hyuer contre la faim.

Le moyen de pouuoir trouuer ſecours eſtoit vne aſſociation, qu'il auoit contractée auec le S^r^. Thomas Robin, dit de Coloignes, fils de famille, & en puiſſance de pere; par laquelle aſſociation il conuenoit [127] entre eux, que ledict de Coloignes fourniroit l'habitation de Port Royal durant cinq ans, de toutes choſes neceſſaires, & fonſeroit abondamment pour pouuoir trocquer auec les Sauuages; & que moyennant ce, il auroit les emoluments, qu'il ſeroit icy trop ennuyeux de raconter.

Leſdicts de Coloignes, & Biencourt arriuerent à Paris le moys d'Aouſt ſuiuãt, & par eux on ſceut en Court ces Bapteſmes, & nouuelles conuerſiõs que nous auons dit. Tous en furent bien-aiſes; mais le mal fut, que ceſte feſte ne ſe trouua pas eſtre celle des eſtreines.

Or Madame la Marquiſe de Guercheuille, comme entre ſes autres rares & ſingulieres vertus, elle eſt ardamment zelée à la gloire de Dieu, & conuerſion

de Potrincourt, went to see him and offered him the company of some of his Order. He received the answer that it would be better to wait until the following year; that as soon as he arrived at Port Royal he would send his son back to France, and that with him, all things being better arranged, such persons should come as it might please the King to send. Thereupon he left Paris, and consumed the entire [126] Winter in making preparations.

The following year, 1610, he embarked towards the end of February, but arrived very late at Port Royal, to wit, about the beginning of June: here, having assembled as many Savages as he could, he had about 24 or 25 of them baptized on saint John's day, by a Priest named Messire Jossé Flesche,[28] surnamed "the Patriarch." A little while afterwards, he sent back to France sieur de Biencourt, his son, about nineteen years old, to take this news of the baptism of the Savages, and to speedily bring back relief; for they were very poorly provided against hunger for the coming Winter.

He was able to find assistance through an association which he had formed with S^r^. Thomas Robin, called de Coloignes,[29] belonging to a good family, and under the authority of his father; through this association it was [127] agreed that the said de Coloignes should provide the settlement of Port Royal for five years, with all necessary things, and that he should furnish abundant means for traffic with the Savages; and in return for this he would have emoluments which it would be too tedious here to enumerate.

De Coloignes and Biencourt arrived at Paris the following August, and through them the Court

des ames: voyant vne ſi belle occaſion, [128] demanda au Pere Coton ſi à celle foys aucuns de leur compagnie ne s'en iroyent point à la nouuelle France. Le Pere Coton reſpondit, qu'il s'eſtonnoit fort du ſieur de Potrincourt, qui luy auoit promis, que renuoyant ſon fils il appelleroit ceux de ſon ordre, qui auoyent eſté deſtinés par le Roy; & ce nonobſtant il ne faiſoit aucune mention d'eux, ny par ſes lettres, ny par ſes commiſſions. Madame la Marquiſe voulut ſçauoir comm'alloit tout cet affaire, & s'en enquit du ſieur Robin: qui reſpondit, que toute la charge de l'embarquement luy auoit eſté baillée, mais qu'il n'auoit point de commiſſion particuliere pour les Ieſuites; neantmoins qu'il ſçauoit aſſez, que le ſieur de Potrincourt ſe ſentiroit fort honoré de les auoir aupres de ſoy, que pour leur entretenement luy [129] meſme s'en chargeroit, comme il faiſoit auſſi du reſte de toute la deſpenſe: vous n'en ſerés point chargé reſpõdit madame la Marquiſe, parce que le Roy les defraye. Et auec tel propos enuoya ledit de Coloignes au P. Chriſtofle Baltaſar Prouincial. Lequel ſur ces promeſſes manda au P. Pierre Biard, (qui lors eſtoit à Poictiers,) de venir à Paris, & luy fut donné pour compagnon le P. Enemond Maſſé, Lyonnois. Eux deux ainſi deſtinés à ce voyage de Canada, s'aboucherẽt auec les ſieurs Robin & Biencourt, & partie faicte le rendez-vous fut aſſigné à Dieppe au 24. d'Octobre de la meſme année 1610. Car en ce temps là diſoyent-ils, tout ſera preſt, ſi le vent, & la marée le ſont.

Ainſi les Ieſuites furent bientoſt en conche. Car la Royne leur fit deliurer cinq cents eſcus promis [130] par le feu Roy, & adiouſta vne fort honnorable

learned of these Baptisms, and new conversions which we have mentioned. All were very much pleased about it, but unfortunately this holiday was not the one of gifts.

Now Madame la Marquise de Guercheville, among her other rare and extraordinary virtues, is ardently zealous for the glory of God and the conversion of souls: seeing such an excellent opportunity, [128] she asked Father Coton if some of his order were not going to new France this time. Father Coton replied that he was very much surprised at sieur de Potrincourt, who had promised him that, when his son returned, he would summon those of his order who had been chosen by the King; but, in spite of this, he made no mention of them either in his letters, or in his commissions. Madame la Marquise, wishing to know all about the matter, made inquiries of sieur Robin: he answered that all the responsibility of embarkation had been delegated to him, but he had no especial commission for the Jesuits; that nevertheless he knew very well that sieur de Potrincourt would feel very highly honored to have them with him; and, as to their maintenance, he [129] himself would take charge of that, as he was doing in regard to all the rest of the expenses. "You will not be burdened with them," answered madame la Marquise, "because the King defrays their expenses." And with these words she sent de Cologines to Father Christofle Baltasar, Provincial. He, upon hearing these promises, summoned Father Pierre Biard (who was then at Poictiers) to come to Paris, and to him was given, as a companion, Father Enemond Massé, of Lyons. These two, thus destined for the voyage to Canada, conferred with sieurs Robin and Biencourt,

recommandatiõ de bouche. Madame la Marquiſe de Vernueil les meubla richemẽt d'vtenſiles & habits ſacrés pour dire Meſſe; Madame de Sourdis les fournit liberalement de linge, & Madame de Guercheuille leur aumoſna vn bien honneſte viatique. Ainſi garnis ils ſe rendirent à Dieppe au temps aſſigné.

and having perfected arrangements, the meeting-place was appointed at Dieppe on the 24th of October of the same year, 1610. "For by that time," they said, "everything will be ready, if the wind and the tide are favorable."

So the Jesuits were soon in a state of preparation. For the Queen had sent to them the five hundred écus promised [130] by the late King, and had added a very favorable recommendation by word of mouth. Madame la Marquise de Vernueil furnished them amply with sacred vessels and robes for saying Mass; Madame de Sourdis furnished them liberally with linen, and Madame de Guercheville granted them a very fair viaticum.[30] Thus provided for, they reached Dieppe at the time appointed.

CHAPITRE XIII. [i. e., xii.]

LES CONTRADICTIONS, & DIFFICULTÉS, QUI S'ESLEUERENT À DIEPPE : ET COMMENT ELLES FURENT ROMPUËS.

LA perſecutée, & triomphãte Dame, que S. Iean vit en ſon Apocalypſe, ſçauoir eſt, l'Egliſe de Dieu, ou encores myſtiquement toute ame eſleuë, *Cruciatur* [131] *vt pariat;* endure beaucoup de conuulſions, & tranchées, à pouuoir enfanter. Auſſi la conception, & le proiect de toute bonne œuure a beſoin de grace. Car en fin ſans ceſte ſemence, & germe celeſte nos cœurs ne peuuent rien concepuoir, ny former d'organique, fecond & viuant. Mais quand ce vient à eſclorre le bon œuure, ie veux dire, quand le terme de ce pieux enfantement de vertu approche, lors il ſemble que tout conſpire à la ſuffocation de ceſte diuine creature, lors faut-il ſentir des douleurs, & trãſes, que Satan ſuſcite, & craindre pluſtoſt d'vn auortemẽt infructueux, qu'auoir eſperance d'vn heureux accouchement. Les Ieſuites ont experimenté cecy par tout, & nommémẽt aux effets ſalutaires, qu'ils ont deſiré produire à la conuerſion de la nouuelle France. Nous [132] auons dit cy deuant, que l'aſſignatiõ leur auoit eſté baillée à Dieppe au 24. d'Octobre, qu'en ce temps-là le nauire deuoit eſtre cõme l'oiſeau ſur la branche n'attendant rien plus, que de voler. Mais bien loin de conte: Ils trouuerent à Dieppe, que le nauire n'eſtoit pas ſeulement radoubé. De plus, à leur arriuee grãd bruit

CHAPTER XIII. [i. e., xii.]

THE OPPOSITIONS, AND DIFFICULTIES, WHICH AROSE AT DIEPPE: AND HOW THEY WERE OVERCOME.

THE persecuted and triumphant Woman, whom St. John saw in his Revelation, namely, the Church of God, or more mystically, any heroic soul, *Cruciatur* [131] *ut pariat;* endures many convulsions and pains, in order that it may bear fruit. So the conception and development of every good work requires grace. For, in fine, without this celestial seed and germ, our hearts could not conceive nor fashion a living and fruitful organism. But when it comes time for the good work to ripen, I mean when the time of this pious birth of virtue approaches, then it seems that all conspire for the suffocation of this divine creature, then it seems necessary to experience the pains and torments which Satan arouses, and to fear a fruitless abortion, rather than to hope for a happy deliverance. The Jesuits have experienced this everywhere, and especially in regard to the beneficial results which they wished to obtain by the conversion of new France. We [132] have said before that the rendezvous had been appointed for them at Dieppe the 24th of October, for at that time the ship would be like the bird upon the branch, only waiting to fly. But very far from this; they found at Dieppe that the ship had not even been repaired. Furthermore, at their arrival there

parmy la Reforme. Car le ſieur Robin, qui (comme nous auons dit) ſouſtenoit, toute la charge de l'embarquement, auoit donné cõmiſſion à deux marchands de la Pretenduë, appellés du Cheſne, & du Iardin, de vacquer au radoub & cargaiſon du nauire ſoubs promeſſe de ſatis-faire à leurs vacations, & parties, & enſemble de les aſſocier à quelque part du profit, qui reuiendroit de la traicte de pelleterie, & de la peſche des molues. Or les Marchands n'auoyent [133] guieres auancé de la beſongne iuſques à lors, ie ne ſçay pourquoy: & dés lors meſme ils commencerent encores à reculer. Car ils s'opiniaſtrerent, iurants par leur plus haut iuron, que ſi les Ieſuites deuoyent entrer dans ce nauire, ils n'auoyent que faire d'y rien mettre. Qu'ils ne refuſoyent point tous autres Preſtres, ou Eccleſiaſtiques, voire qu'ils s'offroiẽt à les nourrir; mais que pour des Ieſuites: inſociable antipathie.

On eſcriuit de cecy en Cour: & la Royne mãda au ſieur de Cigoigne, Gouuerneur de Dieppe, qu'il fit ſçauoir aux ſurintendans Conſiſtoriaux eſtre de ſa volonté, ce que ſon feu Seigneur, & mary auoit projetté de ſon viuant, ſçauoir eſt, que les Ieſuites allaſsẽt en ſes terres de la nouuelle France, & partant, que s'ils s'oppoſoyent à ce voyage, ils ſe bandoyent contre [134] ſon intention, & bon plaiſir. Mais pauure eſperon. Nos Marchands n'en auãcerent point d'vn pas, & à faute d'argent les ſieurs Biencourt, & Robin eſtoyent cõtraincts de paſſer ſous leur barre: qui à ceſte cauſe leur promirent, & iurerent, que iamais les Ieſuites n'entreroyent dans leur nauire. Sous ceſte promeſſe les Marchãds ſe mirent à equipper, veu meſmement, que les Ieſuites n'eſtoyent plus deuant

was great excitement among those of the Reformed Religion. For sieur Robin, who (as we have said) took entire charge of the shipping, had given a commission to two merchants of the Pretended[81] Faith, called du Chesne and du Jardin, to attend to the repairing and loading of the ship, under promise to remunerate them for their time and expense, and to form a partnership with them to divide the profits which would be derived from the trade in skins, and from the cod fisheries. Now the Merchants had, [133] up to that time, advanced but little in the work, I know not why: and from then on they began to delay more than ever. For they were very obstinate, swearing with their loudest oaths, that, if the Jesuits had to enter the ship, they would simply put nothing in it; that they would not refuse all other Priests or Ecclesiastics, and would even support them, but as to the Jesuits, they would not abide them.

The Court was informed of this, and the Queen ordered sieur de Cigoigne, Governor of Dieppe, to signify to the superintendents of the Consistory,[82] that she desired what her deceased Lord and husband had planned in his lifetime, namely, that the Jesuits should go to the countries of new France; and therefore, if they opposed this voyage, they were opposing [134] her purpose and good pleasure. But this was a poor spur to action. Our Merchants would not advance one step, and for lack of money sieurs Biencourt and Robin were obliged to pass under their rod; and for this reason they promised and swore to them, that the Jesuits should never enter their ship. Under this promise, the Merchants set to work to equip it, especially as the Jesuits were no longer under their eyes, having retired to their College at Eu.

leurs yeux, car ils s'eſtoyent retirez à leur College d'Eu.

Or madame la Marquiſe de Guercheuille ayant ouy ce meſpris formel des volontés de la Royne, comme ell'eſt d'vn cœur genereux, s'indigna que des petits mercadants fuſſent eſté ſi outrecuidés; & partant eſtima qu'il les falloit punir iuſtement en ce qu'ils ont de plus ſenſible, c'eſt [135] qu'on ſe paſſaſt d'eux. Ayant dõcques ſceu, que tout ce que leſdits Marchands pourroyẽt auoir fourni n'euſt ſceu monter plus haut de quatre mille liures, elle ne ſe deſdaigna point (à fin que pluſieurs euſſent part à la bonne œuure) de faire vne queſte par tous les plus grands Princes, & Seigneurs de la Cour; moyennant laquelle ceſte dicte ſomme de quatre mille liures fut bien-toſt cueillie.

Or ladicte Dame s'auiſa, comm'ell'eſt fort prudente, que ceſte-dicte ſomme en payant les Marchands, qui auoyent faict la carguaiſon, & les deboutant de toute aſſociation, pourroit encores faire deux grands biens pour la nouuelle France. Le premier que ce ſeroit vn bon fonds pour y perpetuellemẽt entretenir les Ieſuites, ſans qu'ils fuſſent à charge au ſieur de Potrincourt, ou autre [136] quelconque, où qu'il falluſt tous les ans retourner pour eux à la queſte. Le ſecond que par ainſi le profit des pelleteries, & peſche, que ce nauire rapporteroit, ne reuiendroit point en France pour ſe perdre entre les mains des Marchands, ains redonderoit ſur Canada, & là veu qu'il demeuroit en la poſſeſſiõ, & puiſſance des ſieurs Robin, & Potrincourt, & s'employeroit à l'entretien de Port Royal, & des François y reſidants. A ceſte cauſe fut conclud, que ceſt argent ayant eſté mis, & employé au profit de Canada, les Ieſuites auroyent part, & aſſociatiõ

Now madame la Marquise de Guercheville, having heard about this open contempt for the wishes of the Queen, as she is a generous-hearted woman, was indignant at seeing some insignificant peddlers so overbearing: and so she decided justly that they ought to be punished in a way that would hurt them most; namely, [135] that they should be set aside. Now having learned that all the Merchants could have furnished, would not amount to more than four thousand livres, she did not disdain (to the end that many might participate in the good work) to ask a contribution from all the greatest Princes and Grandees of the Court; in this way, the sum of four thousand livres was soon collected.

Now this Lady, being very discreet, considered that this sum, in paying the Merchants who had furnished the cargo, and in dismissing them from all association, would also accomplish two great benefits for new France. The first was, that this would always be a good fund with which to maintain the Jesuits there, so that they would not be a burden to sieur de Potrincourt, or any [136] one else, nor would it be necessary to repeat every year the taking up of collections for them. The second was, that by this arrangement the profit from peltries and fish, which this ship would bring back, would not return to France to be lost in the hands of the Merchants, but would redound to the interests of Canada, and there would remain in the possession and power of sieurs Robin and Potrincourt, and would be used for the maintenance of Port Royal and the French residing there. For this reason, it was concluded that this money, having been applied and used for the benefit of Canada, the Jesuits should participate in the busi-

auec les ſieurs Robin, & Biẽcourt, & partageroyent auec eux les emolumẽts, qui en prouiendroyẽt; le gouuernement & debite deſdictes marchandiſes demeurant riere leſdits Robin, & Biencourt, ou leurs Agents. Voila le contract [137] d'aſſociatiõ, duquel l'on a tãt crié iuſques à l'enrouëment, ſi auec cauſe, on le peut voir. Dieu face, qu'on ne crie iamais contre nous auec plus de raiſon.

ness with sieurs Robin, and Biencourt, and should share with them the profits which would be derived therefrom; the management and sales of said merchandise to remain with said Robin and Biencourt or their Agents. This was the contract [137] of partnership,[283] over which they have cried until they are hoarse, whether or not with reason, may be seen. God grant, that they never have greater cause to rail at us.

CHAPITRE XIV. [i. e., xiii.]

LE VOYAGE, & L'ARRIUÉE À PORT ROYAL.

IAMAIS forte marée n'arriua plus à propos à nauire affablé pour le degager des baſſes eaux, & le remettre en haute mer pour gaigner païs, que l'aſſociatiõ des Ieſuites ſe rencontra propice au ſieur Robin, pour auoir cõmodité de fournir sõ vaiſſeau de Canada, & le deliurer des barres, entre leſquelles il ſe trouuoit arreſté. Car il eſtoit fils de famille, & partant vous pouuez eſtimer qu'il n'auoit pas les millions à commãdement; [138] ſon pere auſſi n'auoit que faire d'entendre aux nauigations d'outre-mer, ayãt tout fraiſchement entrepris le grand party du ſel, qui requiert vn fonds, & vne occupatiõ ſi grande, que chacun ſçait. Ie dis cecy, parce que le factieux eſcriuain, iugeãt mal des benefices de Dieu, impute aux Ieſuites, que le ſieur de Biẽcourt ne partit pluſtoſt de Dieppe pour la nouuelle France, eſtãt neatmoins le contraire: car à leur occaſion lon trouua de l'argẽt pour mettre viſte la voile au vent: ce qu'on ne pouuoit faire ſans cela. On deſmare donques le vingt ſixieme de Ianuier l'an 1611, auec d'autãt plus de reiouiſſance, que les diſputes & l'attente auoyent cauſé d'ennuy. Encores partit-on trop toſt, pour arriuer ſi tard: car on cõſuma quatre moys en la nauigation; & alla on ſurgir premierement [139] à Campſeau, à cauſe de quoy on fut contraint puis apres de coſtoyer la terre auec ſurſeance en pluſieurs endroits. Ceſte

CHAPTER XIV. [i. e., xiii.]

THE VOYAGE, AND ARRIVAL AT PORT ROYAL.

NEVER was the coming of the high tide more opportune to a stranded ship to free it from the shallow waters, and place it again upon the high sea with its prow turned toward home, than was the meeting of the Jesuit partners with sieur Robin, to arrange for the equipment of his vessel for Canada, and to deliver it from the bars among which it was entangled. For he was the son of a gentleman and you may judge that he did not have millions at command; [138] his father also did not want to hear about the voyages beyond the sea, having quite recently undertaken the great salt enterprise, which required so great a capital and investment, as every one knows. I say this because the factionist writer, misjudging the blessings of God, lays it at the door of the Jesuits that sieur de Biencourt did not depart sooner from Dieppe to new France; it was, however, just the contrary, since it was for their sake that money was found to unfurl the sails to the wind, which could not have been done without it. So they left their moorings the twenty-sixth of January, 1611, with all the more joy since the disputes and delays had caused so much vexation. Yet they departed too soon for such a late arrival, for four months were consumed in the voyage; and first they went to land [139] at Campseau, on account of which they were compelled thereafter to keep near the shore, with stops

coſte iuſques à Port Royal eſt d'enuiron ſix vingts lieües.

En noſtre route nous euſmes le rencontre du ſieur Champlain, qui tiroit à Kebec parmy les glaces ſur la fin du moys d'Auril. Ces glaces eſtoyent monſtrueuſes, car en aucuns endroits la mer en eſtoit toute couuerte, autant qu'on pouuoit eſtendre la veuë. Et pour paſſer à trauers, falloit les rompre auec barres & leuiers appoſez aux eſcobilles, ou bec du nauire; elles eſtoyent d'eau douce & auoyent eſté charriées plus de cent lieuës auant en haute, & pleine mer par la grande riuiere S. Laurens. En aucuns endroits apparoiſſoyent des hauts, & prodigieux glaçons nageants, & flottans, eſleuez de [140] trente & quarante braſſes, gros, & larges cõme ſi vous ioigniez pluſiears chaſteaux enſemble, & comme vous diriés, ſi l'Egliſe noſtre Dame de Paris auec vne partie de ſon Iſle, maiſons, & palais alloit flottant deſſus l'eau. Les Holãdois en ont bien veu de plus enormes & prodigieux à Spitbergen, & au deſtroit de Vbaïgats, ſi ce qu'ils en ont publié eſt veritable. Nous arriuaſmes à port Royal le 22. de Iuin de la meſme annee 1611. le S. iour de la Pentecoſte.

Mais auant que mettre pied à terre diſons vn mot touchant l'eſtat auquel les Ieſuites ont veſcu pendant le voyage. Car quoy que ce ſoyent choſes de peu de conſequence elles ſont toutesfois neceſſaires pour fermer la bouche au menſonge. La verité doncques eſt, Premierement, qu'il n'eurent aucun ſeruiteur en tout ce voyage, [141] ſinõ leur propres pieds, & bras: s'il falloit lauer leur linge, ſi nettoyer leur habits, ſi les rapiecer, ſi pouruoir à aultres neceſſités ils auoyent priuilege de le faire eux meſmes auſſi biẽ que le

at several places. Along this coast to Port Royal, it is about one hundred and twenty leagues.

On our way, towards the last of April, we had seen sieur Champlain, who was making his way through the icebergs to Kebec. These masses of ice were enormous, for the sea was in some places covered with them as far as the eye could reach. And, to cross them, they had to be broken with bars and pointed irons inserted in the escobilles or beak of the ship; it was fresh-water ice, and had drifted down more than a hundred leagues to the deep and open sea through the great St. Lawrence river. In some places there appeared vast and lofty pieces of floating and wavering ice, [140] thirty and forty fathoms out of the water, as big and broad as if several castles were joined together, or, as you might say, as if the Church of notre Dame de Paris, with part of its Island, houses, and palaces should go floating out upon the water. The Hollanders have seen still more enormous and wonderful ones at Spit[z]bergen, and in the strait of Ubaïgats,[34] if what they have published about them is true. We arrived at port Royal the 22nd of June of the same year, 1611, the Holy day of Pentecost.[35]

But before going ashore, let us say a word about the way in which the Jesuits lived during the voyage. For although these are things of little consequence, they are, nevertheless, necessary to close the mouth of falsehood. The truth then is this: First, that they had no servant during the entire voyage, [141] except their own hands and feet: if their linen was to be washed, their clothes cleaned and patched, if other needs had to be provided for, they had the privilege of doing it themselves, as well as the least.

moindre. Secondement ils ne ſe meſloyent d'aucun gouuernement, ny ne faiſoyent aucun ſemblant d'auoir point de droict ou puiſſance dans le nauire; le ſieur de Biencourt faiſoit tout, ſeul maiſtre, & abſolu: laquelle forme d'humilité ils ont touſiours cõtinuée deſpuis à port Royal. Leurs ordinaires exercices eſtoyent de chanter le ſeruice diuin les Dimanches, & feſtes, auec vne petite exhortation ou fermõ: tous les iours le matin, & ſoir ils aſſembloyẽt toute la troupe pour la priere, & le Careſme par l'hexhortation, trois fois ſeulemẽt la ſemaine. Leur conuerſation eſtoit telle, que le capitaine Iean d'Aune [142] & le pilote Dauid de Bruges, tous deux de la Pretenduë en rẽdirent teſmoignage auec grande approbation au ſieur de Potrincourt, & ont depoſé ſouuent depuis dans Dieppe, & autre part, qu'ils auoyent cogneu lors les Ieſuites pour tout autres, qu'on ne les leur auoit figuré auparauant, ſçauoir eſt pour gens honneſtes, courtois, & de bonne conuention & conſcience.

Secondly, they did not meddle with any one's authority, or make any pretense of having control or rights over the ship: sieur de Biencourt was in everything, sole and absolute master: and this kind of submissiveness they always continued afterward at port Royal. Their usual exercises were singing divine service Sundays and holidays, with a little exhortation or sermon: every morning and evening, they assembled the whole crew for prayer, and during Lent for exhortation, only three times a week. Their conversation was such, that captain Jean d'Aune [142] and the pilot, David de Bruges, both of the Pretended Religion,[81] have often expressed their approval of it to sieur de Potrincourt; and frequently since then, in Dieppe and other places, have affirmed that they then found the Jesuits quite different from what they had previously been pictured to them, namely, honest and courteous men, of good conduct and pure consciences.

CHAPITRE XV. [i. e., xiv.]

L'ESTAT, AUQUEL ESTOIT LE SIEUR DE POTRINCOURT LORS DE CEST'ARRIUÉE, & SON VOYAGE AUX ETECHEMINS.

LA ioye de l'arriuée fut grãde d'vn coſté, & d'autre. Grande aux arriuants à cauſe de leur deſir, & de l'ennuy ſupporté en vne ſi longue nauigation: [143] mais bien plus redoublée au ſieur de Potrincourt, qui auoit eſté en de grandes peines, & apprehenſions durant tout l'Hyuer. Car ayant eu auec ſoy vingt & trois perſonnes, ſans prouiſions ſuffiſantes pour les nourrir, il auoit eſté contrainct d'en cõgedier aucuns pour s'en aller auec les Sauuages, viure auec eux: aux autres le pain auoit manqué ſix, ou ſept ſepmaines durant, & ſans l'aſſiſtance des meſmes Sauuages, ie ne ſçay ſi tout ne leur euſt miſerablement failly. Or le ſecours, que nous leur apportions n'eſtoit quaſi que, comme l'on dit, vn verre d'eau à vn bien alteré. Premierement parce que nous eſtions trente-ſix en noſtre equipage, leſquels adiouſtez à 23. hõmes, qu'il y auoit, cinquãte neuf bouches ſe retrouuoyent tous les iours à ſa table. Et Membertou le Sauuage [144] par deſſus, auec ſa fille, & ſa ſequelle. En apres nous auions demeuré quatre mois ſur mer: & par ainſi nos prouiſions eſtoyent fort diminuées, veu meſmement, que noſtre vaiſſeau eſtoit fort petit, ſçauoir eſt de cinquante, ou ſoixante tonneaux, & plus prouiſionné pour la peſche, que pour autre choſe. A ceſt'occaſion donc ce fut à

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SIEUR DE POTRINCOURT'S CONDITION AT THE TIME OF THEIR ARRIVAL, AND HIS JOURNEY TO THE ETECHEMINS.

OUR arrival caused great joy on both sides — great on the part of those arriving, because of their longings, and the tediousness of so long a voyage; [143] but more than double was that of sieur de Potrincourt, who had been in great distress and apprehension during the entire Winter. For having had with him twenty-three people, without sufficient food to nourish them, he had been obliged to send some off among the Savages, to live with them: the others had had no bread for six or seven weeks, and without the assistance of these same Savages, I do not know but that they would all have perished miserably. Now the succor that we brought them, was little else, as the saying is, than a glass of water to a very thirsty man. First, because there were thirty-six of us in our company, and these, added to the 23 men that he had, made fifty-nine mouths every day at his table; and Membertou the Savage [144] besides, with his daughter and crew. After living four months upon the sea, our provisions were very much diminished, especially as our vessel was quite small, being only fifty or sixty tons burden, and provisioned more for fishing than anything else. For this reason, then, it was left to Monsieur de Potrincourt to think how he could promptly send back

Monſieur de Potrincourt de penſer pluſtoſt comm'il renuoyeroit promptement ceſte ſi grande famille, de peur qu'elle ne conſumaſt tout, que non pas de procurer la trocque, & la peſche, eſquelles neantmoins giſoit tout l'eſpoir de reſſource pour vn ſecõd voyage. Si ne pouuoit-il s'empeſcher totalement de trocquer; car il falloit faire de l'argent, & pour payer les gages de ſes ſeruiteurs, & pour eſtant en France, aller, & venir.

[145] A ces fins doncques il partit dans ce ſien nauire, quelque iours apres auec quaſi toutes ſes gens, pour aller en vn port des Etechemins, appellé la Pierre Blanche, à 22. lieuës de Port Royal droict à l'Oüeſt. Il eſperoit de trouuer là quelque ſecours de viures au moyen des nauires François qu'il ſçauoit y trafiquer. Le P. Biard l'y voulut accompagner, à fin de recognoiſtre le pays, & diſpoſition des Nationaires, ce qui luy fut accordé. Ils y trouuerent quatre vaiſſeaux François, vn appartenãt au au ſieur de Monts, vn Rochelois, vn Maloüin, ou de S. Malo, de du Pont Graué, auquel commandoit vn ſien parent appellé Capitaine la Salle, duquel nous parlerons tãtoſt; & vne barque auſſi Maloüine, il ſe faut ſouuenir de ces quatre vaiſſeaux pour bien entendre ce qui ſuit.

[146] Le ſieur de Potrincourt appellant vn chacun de ces quatre l'vn apres l'autre leur fit recognoiſtre ſon fils pour vice-Admiral: puis leur demanda aide, remonſtrant les neceſſités, auſquelles il auoit eſté reduit l'Hyuer paſſé, promettant de les rembourſer en France. chacun contribua. Mais Dieu pardoint aux Rochelois, car ils tromperent la Gabelle, donnant des barils de pain gaſté pour du bon.

Cependant que tout cecy ſe traffiquoit, le P. Biard

such a large family, lest everything should be consumed, rather than to secure traffic and fish, in which, however, lay all hope of resources for a second voyage. But he could not entirely refrain from doing some trading; for he had to make money, both to pay the wages of his servants, and for journeys here and there when in France.

[145] For these purposes then, he departed some days afterward in his ship, with nearly all his crew, to go to one of the Etechemins' ports, called Pierre Blanche, 22 leagues from Port Royal, directly to the West. He hoped to find there some help in food supplies from the French ships which he knew were in the habit of trading in that place. Father Biard wished to accompany him, to study the country and character of the Natives, and his wish was granted. They found there four French ships, one belonging to sieur de Monts, one from La Rochelle, one Maloüin or St. Malo ship, belonging to Pont Gravé, commanded by a relation of his named Captain la Salle, of whom we shall speak by and by, and also a Maloüine barque; these four vessels must be well remembered, in order to understand what follows.

[146] Sieur de Potrincourt, calling up each one of these four vessels in succession, made them recognize his son as vice-Admiral: then he asked them for help, dwelling upon the dire necessity to which he had been reduced during the past Winter, and promising to reimburse them in France. Each one contributed. But God pardon the Rochelois, for they defrauded the Excise, giving spoiled bread for good.

While this business was going on, Father Biard learned that young du Pont was on shore, among the Savages; that the year before he had been made

ouyt, que le ieune du Pont eſtoit à terre auec les Sauuages, que l'année prochainement paſſée il auoit eſté faict priſonnier par le ſieur de Potrincourt, d'où s'eſtant euadé ſubtilement, il auoit eſté contrainct courir les bois en grande miſere, & lors meſme il n'oſoit aller à ſon nauire, de peur qu'il n'y fuſt ſaiſi. Le P. Biard ouyant tous ces accidents, [147] ſupplia le ſieur de Potrincourt d'auoir eſgard aux grands merites du ſieur du Pont le pere, & aux belles eſperances qu'il y auoit du fils ; adiouſtant que vrayement c'eſtoit bien eſtre malheureux, ſi les François courants au bout du monde pour conuertir les Sauuages, y venoyent perdre leurs propres concitoyens. Le ſieur de Potrincourt ſe flechiſt à ces remonſtrances, & permit audit P. Biard d'aller chercher le ieune homme auec promeſſe, que s'il pouuoit l'induire à venir librement, pour faire la reuerence audit ſieur de Potrincourt, aucun mal ne luy ſeroit faict, & tout le paſſé ſeroit mis ſous les pieds, & enſeuely. Le Pere y alla, & fut heureux en sõ effort, car il amena ledit du Pont au ſieur de Potrincourt, & paix, & reconciliation faicte, on tira le canon. Du Pont [148] en action de graces, & pour l'edification des François, & des Sauuages voulut ſe confeſſer le iour ſuiuant, & faire ſes Paſques, car il ne les auoit point faictes de ceſt'année là. Auſſi les fit-il auec fort bon exemple de tous, au bord de la mer, où ſe chantoit le ſeruice. Ses deuotions acheuées il ſupplia le ſieur de Potrincourt de permettre que le P. Biard vinſt diſner à ſon nauire, ce qui luy fut accordé. Mais le pauure inuitãt ne ſçauoit pas quelle deſſerte l'attẽdoit. Car ie ne ſçay cõment ſon nauire luy fut ſaiſi, & emmené. Lequel pour le faire court, luy fut ren-

a prisoner by sieur de Potrincourt, and, having made his escape from him, he had been forced to roam the woods in great distress, and even then did not dare go to his ship, lest he should be caught. Father Biard, hearing all these things, [147] begged sieur de Potrincourt to have some consideration for the great merits of sieur du Pont, the father, and to think of the high hopes he had entertained for his son: adding that it would indeed be a great misfortune, if the French, in running to the ends of the earth to convert the Savages, should happen to lose their own citizens there. Sieur de Potrincourt yielded to his remonstrances, and permitted Father Biard to go in search of this young man, with the promise that, if he could induce him to come freely and acknowledge the authority of the said sieur de Potrincourt, no harm would be done to him, and all the past would be put under foot and buried. The Father departed, and was successful in his efforts, for he brought du Pont to sieur de Potrincourt, and after peace and reconciliation were effected, they fired off the cannon. Du Pont, [148] as an act of thanksgiving, and for the edification of the French and Savages, wished to confess on the following day, and to receive his Easter Sacrament, for he had not done so that year. Accordingly, he performed these duties, to the great edification of all, on the shore of the sea, where the service was sung. His devotions finished, he begged sieur de Potrincourt to allow Father Biard to come and dine with him upon his ship, and his request was granted. But the poor host did not know what dessert was awaiting him, for somehow his ship had been seized and taken away; and, to make the story short, it was given

du a là ſollicitation inſtante dudit P. Biard, qui en auoit le cœur tout tranſi. En quoy le ſieur de Potrincourt ſe mõſtra fort equitable. Et voulut obliger ledit Pere, qui luy en ſçaura gré à iamais.

back to him at the earnest solicitation of Father Biard, whose heart was very heavy over this mishap. At this time sieur de Potrincourt showed how very just he was, by trying to oblige the said Father, who will always be grateful to him for it.

[149] CHAPITRE XVI. [i. e., xv.]

LE RETOUR DU SIEUR DE POTRINCOURT EN FRANCE, & LA DIFFICULTÉ D'APPRENDRE LA LANGUE DES SAUUAGES.

NOVS auons expliqué cy deuant la neceſſité, laquelle preſſoit le ſieur de Potrincourt de renuoyer toſt ſes gẽs en Frãce. Or ie voulut les reconduire luy meſme en perſonne, à fin de plus efficacement donner ordre à toutes choſes, & principalement à vn prochain rauitaillement: car ſans iceluy ceux, qu'il delaiſſoit à Port Royal, eſtoyent ſans moyen de paſſer l'Hyuer, en manifeſte danger d'eſtre trouſſés par la famine. Pour ceſte cauſe donc il partit enuiron la my-Iuillet de la meſme annee 1611. & arriua en France ſur la fin du mois d'Auoſt prochain [150] ſuiuãt: il laiſſa ſon fils en ſa place, le ſieur de Biencourt auec vingt & deux perſonnes, en contant les deux Ieſuites, leſquels voyants que pour la conuerſion de Payens la langue du païs leur eſtoit totalement neceſſaire, ſe reſolurent d'y vaquer en toute diligence. Mais on ne ſçauroit croire les grandes difficulés, qu'ils y rencontrerent: parce principalement, qu'ils n'auoyent aucuns interpretes, ni maiſtres. Le ſieur de Biẽcourt, & quelques autres y ſçauoyẽt bien quelque peu, & aſſez pour la trocque, & affaires communes; mais quand il eſtoit queſtiõ de parler de Dieu, & des affaires de religion; là eſtoit le ſaut, là le cap-nõ. Partant ils eſtoyent contraints d'apprendre le lãgage d'eux meſmes, s'enqueſtãts

[149] CHAPTER XVI. [i. e., xv.]

SIEUR DE POTRINCOURT'S RETURN TO FRANCE, AND THE DIFFICULTY OF LEARNING THE LANGUAGE OF THE SAVAGES.

WE have heretofore explained the necessity which was urging sieur de Potrincourt to send his people back to France without delay. Now he wished to take them there himself, to more efficiently arrange all the affairs and especially to procure an immediate supply of provisions: for unless he did this, those whom he was leaving at Port Royal would be without means of passing the Winter, in evident danger of being carried off by famine. For this reason then, he departed about the middle of July of the same year, 1611, and arrived in France at the end of the following month of [150] August; he left his son, sieur de Biencourt, in his place, with twenty-two persons, counting the two Jesuits, who, seeing that for the conversion of the Pagans the language of the country was absolutely necessary, resolved to apply themselves to it with all diligence. But it would be hard to understand the great difficulties which they here encountered: the principal one being, that they had neither interpreter nor teacher. To be sure sieur de Biencourt, and some of the others, knew a little of it very well, enough for trade and ordinary affairs; but when there was a question of speaking about God and religious matters, there was the difficulty, there, the "not understand." Therefore, they were obliged to

des ſauuages comme il appelloyẽt chaſque choſe. Et la beſongne n'ẽ eſtoit point fort penible, tandis [151] que ce qu'on demandoit ſe pouuoit toucher ou monſtrer à l'œil; vne pierre, vne riuiere, vne maiſon; frapper, ſauter, rire, s'aſſeoir. Mais aux actions interieures, & ſpirituelles, qui ne peuuent ſe demonſtrer aux ſens, & aux mots, qu'on appelle abſtracts, & vniuerſels; comme croire, douter, eſperer, diſcourir, apprehender, vn animal, vn corps, vne ſubſtance, vn eſprit, vertu, vice, peché, raiſon, iuſtice, &c. En cela il falloit ahanner, & ſuer, là eſtoyent les tranchées de leur enfantemẽt. Ils ne ſçauoyent par quel endroit le prendre, & ſi en tentoyent plus de cent; il n'y auoit geſte, qui exprimaſt ſuffiſamment leur conception, & ſi ils en employoyent dix mille. Cependant nos meſſers de Sauuages à fin de ſe donner du paſſetemps, ſe mocquoyent liberalement d'eux; touſiours quelque [152] ſornette. Et à fin que la mocquerie fuſt encores profitable, ſi vous auiés voſtre papier, & plume pour eſcrire, il falloit qu'ils euſſent deuant eux le plat remply, & la ſeruiette deſſous. Car a tel trepier ſe rendent les bons oracles: hors de là, & Apollon & Mercure leur defaillent: encores ſe faſchoyent-ils, & s'en alloyent quãd on les vouloit retenir vn peu long temps. Qu'euſſiez vous faict là deſſus? Car de vray ce trauail ne peut eſtre apprehendé, que par ceux, qui l'experimentent. En apres comme ces Sauuages n'ont ny Religion formée, ny police, ny villes, ny artifices, les mots auſſi, & les paroles propres à tout cela leur manquent; Sainct, Bien-heureux, Ange, Grace, Myſtere, Sacrement, Tentation, Foy, Loy, Prudence, Subiection, Gouuernement, &c. D'où recouurerés [153] vous tout cela

learn the language by themselves, inquiring of the savages how they called each thing. And the task was not so very wearisome as long [151] as what was asked about could be touched or seen: a stone, a river, a house; to strike, to jump, to laugh, to sit down. But when it came to internal and spiritual acts, which cannot be demonstrated to the senses, and in regard to words which are called abstract and universal, such as, to believe, to doubt, to hope, to discourse, to apprehend, an animal, a body, a substance, a spirit, virtue, vice, sin, reason, justice, etc.,— for these things they had to labor and sweat; in these were the pains of travail. They did not know by what route to reach them, although they tried more than a hundred; there were no gestures which would sufficiently express their ideas, not if they would use ten thousand of them. Meanwhile our gentlemen Savages, to pass away the time, made abundant sport of their pupils, always telling them a lot of [152] nonsense. And yet if you wanted to take advantage of this fun, if you had your paper and pencil ready to write, you had to set before them a full plate with a napkin underneath. For to such tripods do good oracles yield; without this incentive, both Apollo and Mercury would fail them; as it was, they even became angry and went away, if we wished to detain them a little. What would you have done under the circumstances? For in truth, this work cannot be understood except by those who have tried it. Besides, as these Savages have no formulated Religion, government, towns, nor trades, so the words and proper phrases for all those things are lacking; Holy, Blessed, Angel, Grace, Mystery, Sacrament, Temptation, Faith, Law, Prudence, Subjection,

qui leur manque? Ou cõme vous en paſſerez vous? O Dieu que nous deuiſons bien à noſtr'aiſe en France. Et le beau eſtoit, qu'apres qu'on s'eſtoit rompu le cerueau à force de demandes, & recherches, comme lon ſe penſoit en fin d'auoir bien rencõtré la pierre philoſophale; on trouuoit neantmoins puis apres, que lon auoit pris le phantoſme pour le corps, & l'ombre pour le ſolide: & que tout ce precieux Elixir s'en alloit en fumée. Souuent on s'eſtoit mocqué de nous au lieu de nous enſeigner, & aucunesfois on nous auoit ſuppoſé des paroles des-honneſtes, que nous allions innocemment preſchotãt pour belles ſentences de l'Euangile. Dieu ſçait, qui eſtoyent les ſuggeſteurs de tels ſacrileges.

Vn expedient ſe preſenta aux Ieſuites pour ſe depeſtrer heureuſement [154] de ces embroüillements, & entraues. C'eſtoit d'aller trouuer le ieune du Pont duquel on apportoit nouuelle, qu'il s'eſtoit reſolu d'hyuerner à la riuiere S. Ieã, à quelques dix-huict, où vingt lieuës de Port Royal. Car d'autãt que ledit du Pont auoit ja long temps veſcu au pays, & meſmes à la Syluatique parmy les Originaires, on diſoit de luy, qu'il entendoit fort biẽ la lãgue. Et ne falloit point douter, qu'au moins il ſçauroit propremẽt expliquer les demandes pour tirer des ſauuages la reſponſe à propos: ce qui eſtoit neceſſaire pour coucher par eſcrit vn petit Catechiſme, & inſtruction Chreſtienne. Le P. Biard donc ſe reſolut d'aller chercher ledit du Pont, ſe determinant de pluſtoſt paſſer la Baye Françoiſe dans vn cauot, deuant que de ne ſe ſeruir de ceſte occaſion de bien faire. [155] Mais le ſieur de Biencourt s'oppoſa fort à ceſte deliberation, entrant à ceſte occaſion en de grãds ombrages, auſquels il fallut ceder, pour auoir paix.

Authority, etc. Where will [153] you get all these things that they lack? Or, how will you do without them? O God, with what ease we make our plans in France! And the beauty of it is, that, after having racked our brains by dint of questions and researches, and after thinking that we have at last found the philosopher's stone, we find only that a ghost has been taken for a body, a shadow for a substance, and that all this precious Elixir has gone up in smoke! They often ridiculed, instead of teaching us, and sometimes palmed off on us indecent words, which we went about innocently preaching for beautiful sentences from the Gospels. God knows who were the instigators of such sacrileges.

An expedient presented itself to the Jesuits, by which they could extricate themselves happily [154] from these perplexities and obstacles. It was to go and find young du Pont, who, we had heard, had made up his mind to pass the winter on the St. John river, some eighteen or twenty leagues from Port Royal. For since this du Pont had already lived a long time in the country, even leading the life of a Sylvan among the Natives, it was said of him that he understood the language very well, and there was no doubt that he could at least properly explain the questions so as to get from the savages suitable answers; these were necessary in order to write down a little Catechism, and some Christian instruction. Father Biard then decided to go and look for du Pont, deciding to cross French Bay in a canoe, rather than not to avail himself of this opportunity of doing good. [155] But sieur de Biencourt was very much opposed to this decision, taking great offense at it; and we had to yield to him, to have peace.

CHAPITRE XVII. [i. e., xvi.]

VN VOYAGE FAICT À LA RIUIERE DE S. CROIX, & LA MORT DU SAGAMO MEMBERTOU.

SVR la fin du moys d'Aouſt de la meſme année 1611. le ſieur de Biencourt ayant eu nouuelles, que le nauire du Capitaine Plaſtrier de la ville de Honfleur faiſoit peſcherie au Port aux Coquilles, à vingt vne lieuë de Port Royal vers l'Oueſt: il ſe delibera de l'aller trouuer, à celle fin de luy recommander vn de ſes gens, qu'il renuoyoit en France auec lettres, [156] pour preſſer le ſecours attendu, & repreſenter l'eſtat pitoyable auquel on eſtoit. Le P. Biard l'accompagna; & ils rencontrerent ce nauire tant à propos, que s'ils euſſent tardé d'vn demy quart d'heure, la commodité en eſtoit perduë: car ja il faiſoit voyle pour reuenir en France. Eſtans dedans, nous apprinſmes que le Capitaine Platrier s'eſtoit reſolu de paſſer l'Hyuer en l'Iſle ſaincte Croix, & qu'il y eſtoit reſté luy cinquieſme. Ceſte nouuelle fit prendre reſolution au ſieur de Biencourt d'aller à Saincte Croix de ceſte meſme tirade, auant que le Capitaine Platrier euſt moyẽ de ſe fortifier: car il vouloit tirer de luy le Quint de toutes ſes marchandiſes, & traicte, parce qu'il hyuernoit ſur le pays. L'Iſle Saincte Croix eſt à ſix lieües du Port aux Coquilles, au milieu d'vne riuiere.

[157] Doncques le ſieur de Biencourt y vint, accompagné de huict perſonnes, & y entra en armes, ayant

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A VOYAGE MADE TO THE STE. CROIX RIVER, AND THE DEATH OF THE SAGAMORE, MEMBERTOU.

TOWARD the end of the month of August of the same year, 1611, sieur de Biencourt having heard that the ship of Captain Plastrier, from the town of Honfleur, was engaged in fishing at the Port aux Coquilles,[86] twenty-one leagues Westward from Port Royal, decided to go and find him, to recommend to him one of his men, whom he wished to send back to France with letters, [156] to urge the expected help, and to represent their pitiable condition. Father Biard accompanied him, and they encountered this ship so opportunely, that if they had been eight minutes later, their chance would have been lost; for already it was unfurling its sails to return to France. When we had boarded it, we learned that Captain Platrier had decided to pass the Winter on the Island of sainte Croix, and that he [Sieur de Biencourt] would get his fifth therefrom. This news made sieur de Biencourt resolve to go to Sainte Croix at once, before Captain Platrier had means of fortifying himself: for he wished to collect from him the Fifth of all his merchandise and trade, for wintering in the country. The Island of Sainte Croix is six leagues from Port aux Coquilles, in the middle of a river.

[157] Accordingly sieur de Biencourt went to this place, accompanied by eight people, and, well-armed,

laiſſé le P. Biard en vn bout de l'Iſle, ſur des roches attendant l'euenement, parce que ledict Pere auoit conuenu auec ledict ſieur, qu'en cas d'aucune inuaſion, ou actes de guerre, ou force contre les François, il ſeroit delaiſſé en quelque lieu à l'eſcart, en telle façon, qu'vn chacun peuſt ſçauoir, qu'il eſtoit amy de tous les deux partys, & qu'il s'entremettroit fort volontiers pour accorder les differents, mais nullement pour eſtre partialiſte.

Dieu mercy, tout paſſa heureuſement: Platrier nous traicta le mieux qu'il peut: Et à ſon ayde le ſieur de Biencourt recouura vne barque, laquelle eſtoit au Port aux Coquilles, auec laquelle il s'en retourna à Port Royal, où [158] on trouua nouuelle beſongne: car Henry Membertou, le Sagamo de Sauuages, qui premier d'iceux auoit receu le S. Bapteſme, eſtoit venu de la Baye ſaincte Marie, pour ſe faire penſer d'vne maladie, qui l'auoit ſurprins. Le pere Enemond Maſſé l'auoit logé dans ſa petite Cabane, au lict meſme du P. Biard, & là le ſeruoit comme vn ſien pere & domeſtique. Le P. Biard trouuant ce malade dans ſon lict, fut bien ayſe de l'occaſion de charité, que Dieu luy enuoyoit: Et tous deux ſe mirent à le ſeruir de iour, & de nuict, ſans qu'autre quelconque les y ſoulageaſt, hors l'Apoticaire Hebert, qui apportoit des medecines, & viandes qu'il luy falloit dõner. Vne de leurs plus grandes peines eſtoit de tãt couper & aporter de bois qu'il en falloit pour le iour, & la nuict: Car la nuict commençoit à eſtre [159] bien frilleuſe, & touſiours il falloit bon feu, à cauſe de la mauuaiſe ſenteur, d'autant que c'eſtoit la dyſenterie. Au bout de cinq, ou ſix iours de tel ſeruice, la femme, & la fille dudict Membertou vindrent à luy, à cauſe

marched into the place, having left Father Biard in one end of the Island upon the rocks, awaiting the outcome; because the Father had arranged with the sieur, that in case of any invasion, or warlike act or force against the French, he should be left in some place apart, so that every one might know that he was a friend of both parties, and that he would very willingly interpose to make peace between those at variance, but under no circumstances would he take sides with either.

Thank God, all passed off happily: Platrier treated us as well as he could: and with his aid, sieur de Biencourt recovered a barque, which was at Port aux Coquilles, with which he returned to Port Royal, where [158] a new duty awaited them: for Henry Membertou, the Sagamore of the Savages who was the first to receive Holy Baptism, had come from the Baye sainte Marie to have himself treated for a disease which had overtaken him. Father Enemond Massé had put him in his little Cabin, even in Father Biard's bed, and was there taking care of him like a father and servant. Father Biard, finding the patient in his bed, was very glad of this opportunity for charity, which God had sent him; and both set to work to attend him day and night, without any one else to relieve them in the work, except the Apothecary Hebert,[87] who brought medicines and food which were to be given him. One of their greatest hardships was to cut and carry all the wood that was needed day and night: for the nights began to be [159] quite chilly, and there always had to be a good fire on account of the bad odor, for the disease was dysentery. At the end of five or six days of such service, the wife and daughter of Membertou came to stay with him,

dequoy le P. Biard pria le ſieur de Biencourt de faire changer le malade en quelque autre des cabanes de l'habitation, puis qu'il y en auoit deux ou trois vuides; parce qu'il n'eſtoit ny beau, ny bien ſeant que des femmes fuſſent iour, & nuict en leur cabane: & moins encores qu'elles n'y fuſſent, eſtans la femme, & la fille du malade. D'autre part, la cabane eſtoit ſi petite, que quand on y eſtoit quatre aſſemblez, lon ne s'y pouuoit tourner.

Ces raiſons eſtoient par trop euidentes, mais ledict ſieur ne fut pas d'aduis, qu'on remuaſt le malade en aucune des cabanes de [160] l'habitation, ains luy en fit dreſſer vne au dehors, où le malade fut tranſporté. Ce changement ne luy profita point: car il deteriora déſlors manifeſtement, & mourut quatre ou cinq iours apres. Ce neantmoins les Ieſuites ne mãquerẽt iamais de l'aider, & aſſiſter, luy fourniſſants toutes choſes à leur poſſible: & le ſeruants iuſques à ſa mort. Ce bon Sauuage s'eſtant confeſſé, & receu l'extreme-onction dit au ſieur de Biencourt, qu'il vouloit eſtre enterré auec ſes peres & progeniteurs. Le P. Biard reſiſta fort à ceſte propoſition, l'admoneſtant ne luy eſtre loiſible eſtant Chreſtien de vouloir eſtre enterré auec des Payẽs damnés; veu meſmes qu'en cela il bailleroit vn grand ſcandale, d'autant que les Sauuages oyants, & voyants qu'il n'auroit voulu eſtre enterré auecques nous; facilemẽt [161] entreroyent en ſoupçon qu'il n'auroit eſté Chreſtien, que par apparence. En tout cas, que tout cela ſembleroit touſiours vn meſpris de la ſepulture Chreſtienne, &c. Le ſieur de Biencourt repliqua pour Membertou qu'on feroit benir le lieu, & qu'on l'auoit ainſi promis audit Membertou. Le P. Biard reſpon-

and so Father Biard begged sieur de Biencourt to have the invalid moved to some of the other cabins of the settlement, since there were two or three of them empty; for it was neither good nor quite seemly that there should be women in their cabin day and night; and still less that they should not be there, being the wife and daughter of the sick man. On the other hand, the cabin was so small, that when four persons were in it, they could not turn around.

These considerations were only too evident, but the sieur was not inclined to have the patient removed to any of the cabins of [160] the settlement; but he had one put up outside, where the invalid was taken. This change did not do him any good, for he became evidently worse from that time on, and died four or five days later. Nevertheless, the Jesuits never failed to aid and attend him, furnishing everything they could, and waiting on him up to the time of his death. This good Savage, having confessed and received extreme unction, told sieur de Biencourt that he wished to be buried with his fathers and ancestors. Father Biard was very much opposed to this proposition, admonishing him that it was not lawful for him, a Christian, to wish to be buried with Heathen whose souls were to be lost; especially as in doing so he would cause great scandal, inasmuch as, when the Savages heard and saw that he had not wanted to be buried with us, they would readily [161] entertain the suspicion that he had been a Christian only in appearance. In any case, that all this would always seem like contempt for Christian burial, etc. Sieur de Biencourt replied for Membertou that they would have the burial place blessed, and that such a promise had been made to

dit, que cela ne ſe pouuoit faire: d'autant que pour benir ledit lieu il faudroit deterrer les Payens y enſeuelis, ce qui ſeroit pour ſe faire abominer de tous les Sauuages, & ſentiroit par trop ſon impieté. Les raiſons ne ſeruoyent de rien, parce que le malade eſtimant que le ſieur de Biencourt fuſt de ſon coſté, perſiſtoit en ſa deliberation. Le P. Biard pour leur donner à entendre que ceſt affaire eſtoit plus important, qu'ils ne penſoyent, leur denonça, que ceſt enterrement ſe feroit [162] ſans luy, & qu'il le leur donnoit à entendre dés lors, proteſtant qu'il renonçoit à tous tels conſeils, & reſolutions, & ſur ce s'en alla. Toutesfois, à ce que le malade ne penſaſt, que ce qu'eſtoit deuoir & charité ne fuſt cholere; il reuint en moins d'vn' heure apres, & retourna ſeruir le malade comm' au parauant. Dieu fauoriſa ſon bon deſſein, car le matin ſuiuant le Sauuage de ſoy meſme changea d'aduis, & dit vouloir eſtre enterré au commun cemetiere des Chreſtiens, à fin de teſmoigner à tous ſa foy, & pouuoir eſtre participãt des prieres, qu'il y auoit veu faire. Il mourut en fort bõ Chreſtien, & ſon decés contriſta fort les Ieſuites, car ils l'aimoyent, & eſtoyent aimés de luy reciproquement. Souuent il leur diſoit: Apprenés toſt noſtre langage: car quand vous l'aurés apprins vous [163] m'enſeignerez, & moy enſeigné deuiendray preſcheur cõme vous autres, nous conuertirons tout le pays. Les Sauuages n'ont pas memoire d'auoir eu iamais vn plus grand Sagamo ny plus autoriſé. Il eſtoit barbu comm'vn François. Et pleuſt à Dieu, que tous les Frãçois fuſſent autãt auiſés & diſcrets comm'il eſtoit. Tel eſt le recit veritable de la maladie, & mort de Membertou. Sur lequel ie ne m'amuſeray pas plus

Membertou. Father Biard answered that that would not do; for, in order to bless the said place, they would have to disinter the Pagans who were buried there, which would cause them to be abominated by all the Savages, and would savor too much of impiety. These reasons did not avail, because the sick man, believing that sieur de Biencourt was on his side, persisted in his determination. In order to make them understand that this affair was of greater importance than they thought, Father Biard informed them that the interment would take place [162] without him, and he wanted them to understand it from that time on, protesting that he would have nothing to do with any such counsels and decisions, and thereupon he departed. However, so the sick man would not think that what was mere duty and charity was anger, he returned less than an hour afterwards, and began again to wait upon him as before. God looked kindly upon his good intention, for the next morning the Savage, of his own free will, changed his mind, and said that he wanted to be buried in the common burying ground of the Christians, to prove his faith to all, and to be able to participate in the prayers which he had there seen offered. He died a very good Christian, and his death greatly saddened the Jesuits, for they loved him, and were loved by him in return. He often said to them; "Learn our language quickly, for when you have learned it, you [163] will teach me; and when I am taught I will become a preacher like you, and we will convert the whole country." The Savages have no recollection of ever having had a greater or more powerful Sagamore. He was bearded like a Frenchman; and would to God that all the French were as circum-

long temps à refuter les calomnies du factieux; eſtant aſſez & icy, & par tout conuaincu. Parquoy ie raconte la verité du faict ſans perdre le temps à combattre les larues.

spect and prudent as he was. Such is the true story of the sickness and death of Membertou. With it I shall no longer waste time in refuting the calumnies of the factionist, he being sufficiently convicted both here and elsewhere. Therefore I tell the truth of the thing, without losing time in fighting larvæ.[88]

CHAPITRE XVIII. [i.e., xvii.]

[164] LE VOYAGE À LA RIUIERE S. IEAN: & LA QUERELLE QUI Y SURUINT.

I'AY dict cy deuant que le ſieur de Biencourt auoit amené vne barque du Port aux Coquilles, à fin qu'auec icelle il peuſt faire vn voyage iuſques aux Armouchiquois. Ainſi lon appelle les peuples, qui ſont dés le quarentetroiſieſme degré en bas vers le Sur-oüeſt. Leur commencemẽt eſt dés Chouacoët, & à ce qu'on dit, ils ſont en grand nombre. La diſette preſſoit le ſieur de Biencourt à ce voyage; parce que ces peuples labourãts, & faiſants prouiſion de grains, il eſperoit par le moyen de la trocque, ou autrement tirer d'eux quelque ſecours pour ſe munir contre la famine [165] qui nous attendoit au pas de l'Hiuer. Sa barque fut trop tard equippée pour vne ſi longue traicte: car nous ne fuſmes preſts qu'au troiſieſme d'Octobre; & encores vouluſt-il aller à la riuiere Sainct Iean auant que de prẽdre ceſte route.

La riuiere de ſainct Iean eſt au Noroüeſt de Port Royal, y ayant entre-deux la Baye Françoiſe, large de 14. lieuës. L'entrée de ceſte riuiere eſt fort eſtroicte, & tres-dangereuſe: car il faut paſſer au milieu de deux roches, deſquelles l'vne iette ſur l'autre le courant de la marée, eſtãt entre deux auſſi viſte qu'vn traict. Apres les roches ſuit vn affreux, & horrible precipice, lequel ſi vous ne paſſez à propos, & quand il eſt comblé doucemẽt, de cent mille barques

CHAPTER XVIII. [i.e., xvii.]

[164] THE VOYAGE TO THE ST. JOHN RIVER: AND THE QUARREL WHICH OCCURRED THERE.

I SAID above that sieur de Biencourt took a barque away from Port aux Coquilles, that he might make a journey therewith to the Armouchiquois.[89] This is the name of the people who live below the forty-third parallel, toward the Southwest. They begin at Chouacoët, and are said to be very numerous. Lack of provisions urged sieur de Biencourt to make this voyage, because, as these people till the soil and put away stores of grain, he hoped, by means of trade or in some other way, to get help from them to provide against the famine [165] which awaited us in the course of the Winter. His barque was equipped too late for such a long journey, for we were not ready until the third of October, and he still wanted to go to the Saint John river before making this voyage.

The river saint John is to the Northwest of Port Royal, the intermediate space being occupied by French Bay, 14 leagues wide. The entrance to this river is very narrow and very dangerous: for the ship has to pass between two rocks where the current of the tide is tossed from one to the other, flashing between them as swift as an arrow. Beyond these rocks lies a frightful and horrible precipice, and if you do not pass over it at the proper moment, and when the water is smoothly heaped up, of a hundred thousand barques not an atom would escape, but men and goods would all perish.

vn poil n'eſchapperoit pas, que corps & biens tout ne periſt.

Le ieune du Pont & le Capitaine [166] Merueille s'eſtoyent allé loger à quelques ſix lieuës auant dedans ceſte riuiere S. Iean, n'eſtants en tout que ſept ou huict, tous Maloüins. Le ſieur de Biencourt vouloit exiger d'eux le Quint de toutes leurs marchandiſes, pource qu'ils reſidoyent dans le pays, cõme il a eſté dict, à ceſte cauſe il auoit entreprins ce voyage. Nous eſtions en tout ſeize François & deux Sauuages, qui nous conduiſoyent.

Or comme nous nauigions cõtremont, eſtants ja preſque à vne lieuë & demy de l'habitation des Maloüins ſur le commencement de la nuict; vn ſignacle nous apparut, qui nous eſpouuanta. Car le ciel rougiſt extraordinairement à coſté de l'habitation deſdits Maloüins, & puis la rougeur ſe decoupant en longs fuſeaux, & lances s'en alla fondre droit deſſus ceſte [167] maiſon. Cela ſe fit par deux fois. Nos Sauuages voyants ce prodige crierẽt en leur langage. *Gara gara: Maredo.* Nous aurons guerre, il y aura du ſang. Les Frãçois faiſoyẽt auſſi des Almanachs là deſſus chacun ſelon ſon ſens. Nous arriuaſmes au deuant de leur habitation ja la nuict toute cloſe, & ny euſt autre choſe pour lors, ſinon que nous les ſaluames d'vn coup de fauconneau, & ils nous reſpondirent d'vn coup de pierrier.

Le matin venu, & les prieres accouſtumées faictes, deux Maloüins ſe preſenterent à la riue, & nous ſignifierent, qu'on pouuoit aborder pacifiquement; ce qu'on fit. On ſceut d'eux que leurs Capitaines n'y eſtoyent point, ains s'en eſtoyent allez bien haut contre la riuiere, deſpuis trois iours, & qu'on ne ſça-

Young du Pont and Captain [166] Merveille had gone to stay some six leagues up this river St. John, with a company of not more than seven or eight, all Maloüins. Sieur de Biencourt wished to exact from them the Fifth of all their merchandise, because they were residents of the country, as has been said; it was for this purpose he undertook this voyage. We were in all sixteen Frenchmen, and two Savages, who conducted us.

Now as we were sailing up the river, being already about a league and a half from the Maloüin settlement, towards nightfall a phenomenon appeared to us, which filled us with terror. For the heavens became wonderfully red over the Maloüin habitation, and then the glow, separating into long rays and flashes of light, moved on and melted away over this [167] settlement. This appeared twice. Our Savages, when they saw this wonder, cried out in their language: *Gara gara: Maredo.* "We shall have war, there will be blood." The French also made some Prophecies thereupon, each according to his own idea. We arrived opposite their settlement when the night had already closed in, and there was nothing we could do then, except to fire a salute from the falconet, which they answered with one from the swivel gun.

When morning came, and the usual prayers were said, two Maloüins presented themselves upon the bank, and signified to us that we could disembark without being molested, which we did. It was learned from them that their Captains were not there, but had gone away up the river three days before, and no one knew when they would return. Meanwhile Father Biard [168] went away to prepare his Altar, and celebrated holy Mass.

uoit quand ils reuiendroyent. Cependant le P. Biard [168] s'en alla preparer ſon Autel, & celebra la ſaincte Meſſe.

Apres la Meſſe le ſieur de Biẽcourt poſa vn corps de garde à la porte de l'habitation, & des ſentinelles tout à l'entour. Les Maloüins furent bien eſtonnés de ceſte façon de faire. Les plus timides s'eſtimoyent eſtre perdus, les plus courageux en eſcumoyent & deſpitoyent.

La nuict venuë, & ja cloſe, le Capitaine Merueille s'en reuint à ſon logis, ne ſçachant rien de ſes hoſtes. La ſentinelle l'oyant approcher cria ſon *qui voila*? Le Maloüin, qui pẽſoit que ce fuſt quelqu'vn des ſiens, reſpondit ſe mocquant, mais qui voila timeſme? Et touſiours pourſuiuoit auançant. La ſentinelle tout de bon luy delaſcha ſon mouſquet contre. Et bien merueille fut que Merueille ne fut ny tué ny bleſſé. Mais il fut [169] bien eſtonné, & plus encores voyant auſſi toſt des genſd'armes ſur ſoy l'eſpée nuë, qui le ſaiſirent & emmenerẽt dans la maiſon, comme vous pouuez penſer en tel accident, que font gens de pouldre & de corde; leurs crys, leurs menaces, & leurs faicts. Le pauure homme ne ſe trouuoit point bien de ſa perſonne ja dés pluſieurs iours, & lors il eſtoit tout haraſſé du chemin. Pluſieurs inconueniẽs de perte, & de maladie luy eſtoiẽt arriuez ceſte année là, comme pour l'accabler; Partant ſe voyant ainſi tombé comme dans vn abyſme ſubitement, il ne ſçauoit où il eſtoit. Il ſe coucha aupres du feu tout de ſon long, ſe lamentãt: les gardes eſtoient tout à l'entour de luy. Le P. Biard voyant la confuſion en laquelle eſtoit toute la maiſon, & n'y pouuant donner ordre ſe mit à prier Dieu au pied [170] d'vn banc, qui

After Mass sieur de Biencourt placed a bodyguard at the door of the habitation, and sentinels all around it. The Maloüins were very much astonished at this way of doing things. The more timid considered themselves lost, the more courageous stormed, and fumed, and defied them.

When night came on and it was already quite dark, Captain Merveille returned to his lodgings, knowing nothing of his guests. The sentinel, hearing him approach, uttered his, "*Who goes there?*" The Maloüin, thinking this was one of his own people, answered mockingly, "But who goes there thyself?" and continued upon his way. The sentinel fired off his musket at him in earnest, and it was a great wonder [Fr. *merveille*] that Merveille was not killed or wounded. But he was [169] very much astonished, and still more so when he saw some soldiers upon him with naked swords, who seized him and took him into the house; you may imagine how men of powder and of rope act at such times, with their cries, their threats, and their gesticulations. The poor man had not been well for several days, and just then was very much wearied from his journey. He had had several discouraging losses and sicknesses that year, enough to break him down. So, seeing himself thus, as it were, suddenly fallen into an abyss, he knew not where he was. He lay down at full length before the fire, and began to lament: the guards were all around him. Father Biard, seeing the confusion of the whole house, and not being able to restore order, began to pray to God, kneeling at the foot [170] of a bench which was against one of the beds, some distance from the fire. Merveille, having had some chance to realize his unfortunate condition and to

eſtoit contre vn des licts aſſez loin du feu. Merueille, ayant eu quelque reſpit pour ſentir ſes miſeres, & ſe recognoiſtre, & ayant apperceu le P. Biard qui prioit, ſe leuant ſubitement en ſurſaut, tout troublé, & à coup s'alla ietter à genoux aupres dudit Pere, à qui neantmoins il n'auoit iamais parlé auparauant, & luy dit: Mon Pere, ie vous prie confeſſez-moy, ie ſuis mort. Le P. Biard ſe leua pour le conſoler, s'apperceuant bien, qu'il eſtoit troublé; Tout le corps-de-garde tourna les yeux de meſme ſur eux, & chacun aduiſoit autour de ſoy s'il y auoit rien à craindre. De fortune, ou à deſſein, comme que ce ſoit, ie n'en ſçay rien, vn certain eceruelé va trouuer à deux bons pas de Merueille vn poictrinal tout chargé, amorcé, le chien abatu, & s'eſcria: O le traiſtre! il auoit enuie [171] de ſe ſaiſir de ce poytrinal, & faire quelque coup. Le Malouïn reſpondit, que cela ne pouuoit eſtre, parce que dés ſa venuë il auoit touſiours eſté en leurs mains; & partant il eſtoit impoſſible, qu'il euſt preparé, ny meſmes veu ce poytrinal, & que quand meſmes il l'euſt veu, qu'il en eſtoit trop loin pour s'en ſaiſir ſans eſtre preuenu. Mais nonobſtant tout ſon dire, il fut garrotté, luy, & trois de ſes gens, qui ſembloyent eſtre les plus mauuais.

Merueille eſtoit garrotté les mains derriere le dos, & ſi eſtroictement que ne pouuant prendre aucun repos, il ſe lamentoit fort pitoyablement. Le P. Biard en ayant compaſſion pria le ſieur de Biencourt de faire deſlier ceſt affligé, lequel il plegeoit corps pour corps, alleguant que ſi on ſe craignoit dudit Merueille, qu'on l'enſerraſt [172] dans vn des licts faicts à la Chartreuſe, & qu'il ſe tiendroit à la porte, à fin de luy empeſcher la ſortie: Que ſi on entendoit

collect himself, and, having perceived Father Biard praying, started up in great agitation, and ran, and threw himself on his knees before the said Father; and, although he had never before spoken to him, said: "My Father, I pray you to confess me, I am a dead man." Father Biard got up to console him, seeing clearly that he was troubled; the whole body-guard likewise turned their eyes upon them, and each one looked about him to see if there was anything to fear. By chance or design, whichever it was, I know not, a certain madcap stepped forward and picked up, at two good paces from Merveille, a carbine, all loaded and primed, with the trigger down, and cried: "Oh, the traitor! He wanted [171] to get hold of this carbine and have a few shots from it." The Malouïn answered that that could not be, because since his arrival he had always been in their hands; and so it was impossible for him to have prepared or even seen this carbine; and, if he had seen it, he was too far away to get hold of it without being prevented. But in spite of all he said, he, and three others of his men, who seemed to be the worst, were bound.

Merveille had his hands bound behind his back so tightly, that he could not rest, and he began to complain very pitifully. Father Biard taking pity on him, begged sieur de Biencourt to have the sufferer untied, whom he pledged man for man, alleging that, if they had any fears about the said Merveille, they might enclose him [172] in one of the Carthusian beds,[40] and that he would stay at the door to prevent his going out: that if any noise were heard the punishment therefor should fall upon him as well as upon the other. Sieur de Biencourt granted Father Biard's request, and Merveille was untied and con-

du remuemẽt, qu'on frappaſt ſur luy auſſi toſt que ſur l'autre. Le ſieur de Biencourt accorda au P. Biard ſa demande, & Merueille fut deſlié & confiné dans vn des licts, le P. Biard eſtant à la porte.

Or quelle fut ceſte nuict, ie ne vous le ſçaurois expliquer: car elle paſſa toute en alarmes, en eſcopeterie & impetuoſitez de quelques vns, telles, qu'à bon droict pouuoit-on craindre que les prognoſtiques veus au ciel la nuict precedente n'euſſent lors leurs effects ſanguinaires en terre. Le P. Biard fit promeſſe de ramenteuoir ce benefice toute ſa vie, s'il plaiſoit à Dieu de brider ces eſprits mutins, & meurtriers, qui ſembloiẽt d'eſtre eſtachés & voler par [173] deſſus la maiſon attendans leur curée. Dieu par ſa bonté l'exauça, & les feruentes prieres du Capitaine Merueille, car certes il mõſtra vn cœur vrayement Chreſtiẽ dés qu'il fut à part deſlié, ne ceſſant quaſi toute la nuict de louër, & benir ſon Createur, nonobſtant toutes les algarades, qui luy furẽt faictes. Et le matin venu il ſe confeſſa, & fit ſon bon-jour luy & trois de ſes gents auec vne grande tranquillité d'eſprit. De vray c'eſt vn exemple bien rare, & bien excellẽt à qui ſçait eſtimer la vertu.

L'aprés-diſnee le P. Biard demanda congé d'aller trouuer du Pont, ſous promeſſe du ſieur de Biencourt, que tout bon traictement luy ſeroit faict. Mais comme ledit Pere fut à vn quart de lieüe; de ſoy-meſme ledit du Pont arriua, & toutes eſmotions furent accoiſées. Le ſieur de Biencourt emprunta [174] la barque de Merueille, & l'emmena auec ſoy, & vn des Maloüins, qui deſpuis mourut de maladie à Port Royal.

fined in one of these beds, Father Biard being at the door.

Now I could not describe to you what a night this was: for it passed in continual alarms, gunshots and rash acts on the part of some of the men; so that it was feared with good reason that the prognostications seen in the heavens the night before would have their bloody fulfillment upon earth. Father Biard promised to keep this favor in mind as long as he lived, if it pleased God to restrain these mutinous and murderous spirits which seemed to be in ecstasy and to fly [173] over the house waiting for their prey. God in his goodness hearkened to him, and to the sincere prayers of Captain Merveille, for he certainly showed a truly Christian spirit, as soon as he was partially released, never ceasing, nearly all night, to praise and bless his Creator, notwithstanding all the insults that had been heaped upon him. And when morning came he confessed, and, together with three of his men, received the sacrament, in great tranquillity of mind. In truth it was a very rare and very excellent example to those who know how to esteem virtue.

In the afternoon Father Biard asked leave to go and find du Pont, with sieur de Biencourt's promise that he would receive nothing but good treatment. But when the said Father had gone a quarter of a league, the said du Pont came up of his own accord, and all disturbances were quieted. Sieur de Biencourt borrowed [174] Merveille's barque, and took it away with him, together with one of the Malotins, who afterwards died at Port Royal.

CHAPITRE XXI. [i.e., xviii.]

LE VOYAGE DE QUINIBEQUI, & LE RETOUR À PORT ROYAL.

NOVS auons remarqué peu au parauant, que ce voyage à la riuiere S. Iean, n'eſtoit qu'vn deſtour du plus grand entreprins aux Armouchiquois pour auoir du bled. Comme donc nous euſſions ainſi tranſigé auec les Maloüins, nous miſmes la voile au vent, prenants la route des Armouchiquois. Auant que partir, le ſieur du Pont & Merueille prierent le P. Biard de vouloir demeurer auec eux; mais il leur reſpondit, [175] que pour lors il ne le pouuoit faire, d'autant que ce ne luy ſeroit point beau de quitter le ſieur de Biencourt en vn voyage tant perilleux: Et qu'il importoit à ſa charge de recognoiſtre les gens, & diſpoſition des lieux; & peu à peu domeſtiquer le ſens des Sauuages à la veuë, vs, & façon du Chriſtianiſme, les viſitant, & leur en donnant quelq; gouſt de pieté, bien que ce ne fuſt qu'en paſſant. Mais qu'il eſperoit auec la benediction de Dieu, le voyage accomply de venir paſſer l'Hyuer auec eux: & auec leur ayde compoſer ſon Catechiſme. A quoy il pria le ſieur du Pont de ſe preparer, s'enquerant des Sauuages de la proprieté des mots, qui peuuent correſpõdre à ceux de noſtre langue, & Religion. Et à fin qu'il le peuſt faire commodément, il luy laiſſa vne explication bien ample des [176] principaux articles de noſtre ſaincte Foy.

CHAPTER XXI. [i.e., xviii.]

THE VOYAGE TO QUINIBEQUI, AND THE RETURN TO PORT ROYAL.

WE remarked a little while ago that this visit to St. John river was only a diversion from the greater expedition to the Armouchiquois to get some corn. Now when we had thus come to terms with the Maloüins, we unfurled our sails to the wind and turned towards the land of the Armouchiquois. Before departing, sieur du Pont and Merveille begged Father Biard to consent to remain with them; but he answered [175] that for the present he could not do it, as it would not be right to leave sieur de Biencourt in such a dangerous voyage; and that it was important to him in his mission to study the people and location of the places, and, little by little, to familiarize the minds of the Savages with the sight, uses, and ways of Christianity, visiting them and giving them some taste of piety, although it might be only in passing by. But that he hoped, with God's blessing, when this journey was over, to come and pass the Winter with them, and with their aid to compose his Catechism. For this he begged sieur du Pont to prepare himself, questioning the Savages about the fitness of words which might correspond to those of our language and Religion. And in order that he might be able to do it properly, he left him quite an ample explanation of the [176] principal articles of our holy Faith.

Nous arriuaſmes à Kinibequi ſur la fin d'Octobre. Kinibequi eſt vne riuiere proche des Armouchiquoys à quarante trois degrez, & deux tiers d'eleuation, & au Surouëſt de Port Royal, à ſoixante dix lieües, ou enuiron. Elle a deux emboucheures bien grandes, diſtantes l'vne de l'autre au moins deux lieües, elle a auſſi pluſieurs bras, & Iſles, qui la decoupent. Au reſte, belle & grande riuiere, mais nous n'y viſmes point de bonnes terres, non plus qu'à la riuiere S. Iean. On dit toutesfois qu'en haut, loin de la mer, elles y ſont fort belles, & le ſejour aggreable, & que les peuples y labourent. Nous ne montaſmes pas plus auant de trois lieües, nous tournoyames par tant de vireuoltes, & ſautames tant de precipices, [177] que grand miracle de Dieu fut que ne periſmes pluſieurs fois. Aucuns de nos gens s'eſcrierent par deux diuerſes fois, que nous eſtions perdus; mais ils crierent auant le temps; Noſtre Seigneur en ſoit beny. Les Sauuages nous emmielloyent de l'eſperance d'auoir du bled; puis ils changerent la promeſſe du bled en trocque de caſtors.

Or pendant qu'on faiſoit ceſte trocque, le P. Biard s'en eſtoit allé en vne Iſle proche, auec vn garçõ pour celebrer la ſaincte Meſſe. Les Sauuages à l'occaſion de la traicte qui ſe deuoit faire, ſe ietterent fort auidement, & à la foule dans noſtre barque; de curioſité (comme i'eſtime) pource qu'ils ne voyent pas ſouuẽt tels ſpectacles. Nos gens auoient peur, que ce ne fuſt malice, & que ſoubs couleur de trocque, ils ne ſe vouluſſent [178] ſaiſir de la barque: auſſi s'eſtoyent ils armez, & barricadez, à fin de n'eſtre ſurprins voyant donc, que nonobſtant leurs menaces, & crieries, ils ne ceſſoyent d'entrer à la file, & que ja ils eſtoyent

We arrived at Kinibequi[41] towards the end of October. Kinibequi is a river near the Armouchiquois, in latitude forty-three and two-thirds degrees, and Southwest of Port Royal about seventy leagues or thereabouts. It has two quite large mouths, one distant from the other at least two leagues; it is also cut up by numerous arms and branches. Besides, it is a great and beautiful river; but we did not see good soil there any more than at the St. John river. They say, however, that farther up, away from the sea, the country is very fine and life there agreeable, and that the people till the soil. We did not go farther up than three leagues; we whirled about through so many eddies, and shot over so many precipices, [177] that several times it was a great miracle of God that we did not perish. Some of our crew cried out at two different times that we were lost: but they cried too soon, blessed be Our Lord. The Savages cajoled us with the hope of getting corn; then they changed their promise of corn to that of trade in beaver skins.

Now, while this trading was going on, Father Biard had gone, with a boy to an Island near by, to celebrate holy Mass. The Savages, on account of the trading to take place, crowded very eagerly into our barque; from curiosity (I think) because they did not often see such sights. Our people were afraid that this was only a trick, and that under the pretense of trading they wanted [178] to get possession of the barque; therefore they armed and barricaded themselves not to be taken unawares. Seeing then that, notwithstanding their threats and cries, they continued to file in, and there were already about thirty of them upon the deck, they decided

bien trente ſur le tillac, ils cuiderent que tout à faict c'eſtoit à bon jeu, qu'on les vouloit ſurprendre: & ja couchoiẽt en iouë pour tirer. Mõſieur de Biencourt a ſouuent dit, & ſouuent repeté deſpuis, qu'il eut pluſieurs fois ſur la langue de crier, tuë, tuë: Mais que ceſte conſideration le retint, que le Pere Biard eſtoit à terre, qui ne falliroit d'eſtre maſſacré ſi lon meffaiſoit à aucun Sauuage. Ceſte conſideration obligea le P. Biard, & nous ſauua treſtous: car ſi lon euſt commẽcé la charge, il n'eſt pas croyable, qu'on euſt iamais peu eſchapper la chaude chole & furieuſe pourſuite des Sauuages dedãs vne [179] riuiere, qui a tant de tours, & retours, & ſouuent bien eſtroicts, & perilleux: outre que de cent ans apres ceſte coſte n'euſt peu eſtre reconciliable, ny hoſpitaliere aux François, tant les Sauuages euſsẽt eu ceſte offenſe deſſus le cœur. Dieu doncques nous ſauua par ceſte conſideration. Et de là tous Capitaines retiendront de n'eſtre point trop ſubits aux executions de perilleuſe ſuite. Or les Sagamos s'apperceuans d'eux meſmes de la iuſte apprehenſion, où leurs gens pouſſoient nos François, ſe prindrent à les retirer haſtiuement, & mirent ordre à la confuſion.

Ce peuple ne monſtre point d'eſtre meſchant, quoy qu'il aye deffaict les Anglois, qui vouloient habiter parmy eux l'an 1608. & 1609. ils s'excuſoient à nous de ce faict, & nous racontoient les outrages, [180] qu'ils auoyent receu deſdicts Anglois, & nous flattoient; diſans qu'ils nous aymoient bien, parce qu'ils ſçauoient, que nous ne fermions point nos portes aux Sauuages comme les Anglois, & que nous ne les chaſſions pas de noſtre table à coups de baſton, ny ne les faiſions point mordre à nos chiens. Ils ne ſont

that it was all in good earnest and that they were trying to take them by surprise, so they had already taken aim to shoot. Monsieur de Biencourt has often said, and often repeated since then, that several times he had at his tongue's end the words, "Kill, kill." But that he was restrained by the consideration that Father Biard was on shore, and that he would not escape being massacred if harm were done to any of the Savages. This consideration was a blessing to Father Biard, and saved us all: for if the attack had been begun it is not to be supposed that they could ever have escaped the passionate wrath and furious pursuit of the Savages, in a [179] river which has so many turns and windings, and which is often very narrow and dangerous; besides, this coast could not have become hospitable or reconciled towards the French for a hundred years afterwards, so much would the Savages have taken the offense to heart. So on this account God saved us; hence, all Captains should restrain themselves from rash and perilous conduct. Now the Sagamores, themselves perceiving to what a state of just apprehension their people had driven the French, began to draw them off hastily and to bring order out of the confusion.

These people do not seem to be bad, although they drove away the English who wished to settle among them in 1608 and 1609.[41] They made excuses to us for this act, and recounted the outrages [180] that they had experienced from these English; and they flattered us, saying that they loved us very much, because they knew we would not close our doors to the Savages as the English did, and that we would not drive them from our table with blows from a club, nor set our dogs upon them. They are not thieves

point larrons comme les Armouchiquoys, & ſont les plus grands harangueurs du monde. Ils ne font rien ſans cela. Le P. Biard les alla voir par deux fois: & (ce qu'il faiſoit par tout) pria Dieu en leur preſence, & leur mõſtra des images, & marques de noſtre creance, leſquelles ils baiſoient volontiers, faiſants faire le ſigne de la ſaincte Croix à leurs enfans, qu'ils luy offroyent, à fin qu'il les beniſt: & oyoient auec attention grande, & reſpect ce qu'on leur annonçoit. Le mal [181] eſtoit, qu'ils ont vne langue toute diuerſe, & falloit qu'vn Sauuage ſeruiſt de truchemant, lequel ſçachant bien peu de la Religion Chreſtiẽne, ſe bailloit neantmoins du credit enuers les autres Sauuages: & à voir ſa contenance, & ouyr ſon long parler, il faiſoit grãdement du Docteur: ſi bien ou mal, ie m'en rapporte.

Nous fuſmes à Kinibequi iuſques au quatre, ou cinquieſme de Nouembre, ſaiſon ja trop auancée pour paſſer outre ſelon noſtre premier deſſein: c'eſt pourquoy le ſieur de Biencourt ſe mit au retour d'autant qu'il penſoit eſtre moindre mal de ſouffrir l'Hyuer, & la diſette à Port Royal, y eſtans bien logés, & chauffés, & attendãts la miſericorde de Dieu; que non pas de riſquer ſur mer en vn temps de tempeſtes, parmy des Barbares & ennemis, ayants [182] encores de plus la faim à craindre; car nos prouiſions commençoyẽt fort à faillir: ainſi donc nous adreſſaſmes à Pẽtegoet pour nous en retourner à Port Royal.

A Pentegoet nous trouuaſmes vn'aſſemblee de quatre vingts cauots Sauuages, & vne chaloupe. C'eſtoit en tout enuiron trois cents ames. De là nous repaſſaſmes à l'Iſle S. Croix, où Platrier nous donna deux barils de pois, ou de febues: l'vn & l'autre nous fut vn bien grand preſent.

like the Armouchiquoys, and are the greatest speech-makers on earth. Nothing is done without speeches. Father Biard went to see them twice, and (as he did everywhere) prayed God in their presence, and showed them some pictures and tokens of our faith, which they willingly kissed, having their children make the sign of the holy Cross, and presenting them to him for his blessing: they listened with great attention and respect to what was told them. The trouble [181] was, that they have an altogether different language, and a Savage had to serve as interpreter, who, knowing very little of the Christian Religion, nevertheless acquitted himself with credit in the eyes of the other Savages; and to look at his face and hear his talk, he played the Doctor very grandly; whether successfully or not, I cannot tell.

We were at Kinibequi until the fourth or fifth of November, a season already too advanced to go on any farther, according to our first intention; hence sieur de Biencourt set out upon his return, thinking it the lesser evil to endure Winter and want at Port Royal, comfortably lodged and warm, awaiting God's mercy, than to risk passage upon the sea in this stormy season, being now among Barbarians and enemies, with [182] famine to fear besides; for our provisions began to be very scarce: therefore we turned towards Pentegoet, on our way back to Port Royal.

At Pentegoet we found an assemblage of eighty canoes of Savages, and a boat, in all about three hundred souls. Thence we passed on to the Island of Ste. Croix, where Platrier gave us two barrels of peas or beans; they both proved a very great boon to us.

Here Father Biard begged sieur de Biencour to let

Icy le P. Biard ſupplia le ſieur de Biencour de le faire paſſer à la riuiere S. Ieã à ce qu'il peuſt aller trouuer du Pont & trauailler au Catechiſme, ainſi qu'ils auoyent conuenu au depart. Mais ledit ſieur ne luy vouluſt point accorder ſa requeſte, ſinon aux conditions, qu'il entretinſt & nourriſt auec ſoy les matelots, qui le conduiroyent [183] iuſques au Printemps ſuiuant; Condition totalement impoſſible. Ainſi falluſt qu'il laiſſaſt ſon Catechiſme, & s'en reuinſt auec les autres à Port Royal à ſon grand regret.

Tandis que nous eſtions en voyage aucun n'eſtoit reſté dãs l'habitation de Port Royal, ſinon le P. Enemond Maſſé, & vn ieune Pariſien, appellé Valentin Pageau. Ledit Pere viuoit en Hermite bien auſtere, ne voyant aucun, ſinon quelque fois deux, ou trois François qui labouroyent à deux lieuës de là: & ſi par fortune, quelque Sauuage paſſoit. Le P. Biard tomba peu apres ſon retour en vne legere maladie, mais lente, & chronique, qui donna ſubiect de charité audit Pere Enemond.

On leur auoit aſſigné vn garçon pour les aider en leurs neceſſités; [184] & ils l'auoyent accommodé bien honneſtement: mais il les quitta au gros des neges, & au cœur de l'Hyuer.

Les neges commencerent le 26. de Nouembre, & auec elles (ce qui faſchoit le plus) le retranchement des viures. On ne donnoit à chaque perſonne pour toute la ſepmaine, qu'enuiron dix onces de pain, demy liure de lard, trois eſcuelées de pois, ou de febues, & vne de pruneaux. Les Ieſuites n'en eurent iamais plus, ny autrement qu'vn chacun de la troupe. Et eſt menſonge tres-impudente ce que le Factieux allegue du contraire.

him go on to the river St. John so that he could find du Pont and go to work on the Catechism, as they had agreed at his departure. But the said sieur was not willing to grant his request, unless on the condition that he would feed and keep with him, [183] until the following Spring, the sailors who would take him there; a Condition totally impossible. Therefore he had to give up his Catechism, and return with the others to Port Royal, much to his regret.

While we were away, no one had remained at the settlement of Port Royal except Father Enemond Massé and a young Parisian, called Valentin Pageau. The Father lived very austerely, in the manner of a Hermit, seeing no one, except occasionally two or three Frenchmen who were cultivating the land two leagues away, and perchance some Savage who was passing by. Shortly after his return, Father Biard fell ill of a light but slow and chronic malady, which gave to Father Enemond an occasion for charity.

They had been given a boy to help them in their needs, [184] whom they had treated very kindly; but he left them in the depths of the snow and in the heart of Winter.

The snow began on the 26th of November, and with it (what grieved them the most) the cutting down of their rations. There was given to each individual for the entire week only about ten ounces of bread, half a pound of lard, three bowls of peas or beans, and one of prunes. The Jesuits never had more nor different things than the other members of the company, and it is a very impudent lie which the Factionist alleges to the contrary.

During all this time the Savages did not come to

Pendant tout ce temps les Sauuages ne nous venoyẽt point voir, ſinon rarement quelques vns de la maiſon de Membertou, pour nous apporter quelque preſent de leur chaſſe. C'eſtoit lors bonne [185] feſte, & jouine: nos gens en reprenoient vn peu de courage. Ce qui faſchoit le plus, eſtoit l'apprehenſion du temps, quand on conſideroit l'eſtenduë lõgue des mauuais moys, qu'on auoit à paſſer.

Les Ieſuites taſchoient, & en priué, & en public de conſoler tous, & vn chacun parmy ceſte miſere. Et aduint, que le troiſieſme Dimẽche apres Noël, auquel on lit l'Euangile *Vinum non habent*: Le P. Biard exhorta la Compagnie à bien eſperer, & prendre la glorieuſe vierge Marie pour aduocare enuers ſon miſericordieux Fils, en toutes neceſſitez, & ſpirituelles, & corporelles, eſtant ainſi, que par ſon interceſſion iamais le vin de conſolation ne manque à ceux qui l'ont pour hoſteſſe & pour mere. Le ſeruice finy, le P. Biard s'addreſſant au ſieur de Biẽcourt, & luy monſtrant les compagnõs, [186] luy dit en riant: *Vinum non habent*. Le priant de leur en donner de ce peu qui reſtoit, adiouſtant, que le cœur luy diſoit qu'on auroit bien toſt ſecours, & au plus long, dans le moys qui couroit, ſçauoir eſt, dans Ianuier: & que peut eſtre verroit-on, qu'il deuineroit ſans y penſer. Les Compagnons furent bien-aiſes, & ſe gaudiſſants apres auoir beu, diſoyent: Or bien, nous voy-cy de bon courage, pour attendre ſi le Pere ſera point Prophete. Et certes il le fut de bonne aduenture: car vn nauire nous arriua iuſtement huict iours apres, lequel il nous fallut aller querir aſſez loin.

see us, except rarely some of Membertou's family, to bring us some offering from the chase. Then there was great [185] feasting and hilarity, and our people would begin to feel a little encouraged. The most grievous thing was their dread of the season, when they considered the long duration of disagreeable months to be endured.

The Jesuits tried, both privately and in public, to comfort all and every one during this season of misery. And it happened that on the third Sunday after Christmas, when the Gospel *Vinum non habent* is read, Father Biard exhorted the Company to be of good cheer, and to take the glorious virgin Mary for an advocate with her compassionate Son in every need, spiritual and corporal, as through her intercession the wine of consolation would never be wanting to those who have her as a guest and a mother. The service ended, Father Biard addressed himself to sieur de Biencourt, and, pointing to his companions, [186] said laughingly, *Vinum non habent:* begging him to give them the little that remained, adding that his heart told him they would soon have succor,—at the farthest, during the present month, namely, in January; and perhaps it would be seen that he had unwittingly prophesied. His Companions were delighted, and, in their joy after drinking, said, "Now, truly, we have the courage to wait and see if the Father is a Prophet." And certainly he made a lucky hit, for a ship reached us just one week afterward, which we had to go a long way out to seek.

CHAPITRE XX. [i.e., xix.]

COMME MADAME LA MARQUISE DE GUERCHEUILLE OBTINT DU ROY LES TERRES DE LA [187] NOUUELLE FRANCE, & LE SECOURS QU'ELLE Y MOYENNA.

LE ſieur du Potrincourt eſtãt reuenu en France au mois d'Aouſt de l'an 1611. ainſi qu'a eſté dit cy deuant, eſuentoit de tous coſtés la trace, & le moyen de pouuoir ſecourir ſes gẽts, leſquels il ſçauoit ne pouuoir long temps durer ſans renfort, & rauitaillement nouueau. La peine eſtoit de trouuer quelque bon Æole, Roy des Autans Burſins, qui les vouluſt donner, non comme ils le furent à Vlyſſes, liés dans le cuir pour ne ſouffler pas, ains deliés, & de bon cours pour bouffer dans les voiles, car ſans cela point de nauire ne ſçauroit auancer. Or conſiderant que Madame la Marquiſe de Guercheuille affectionnoit extremement la conuerſion des Sauuages; qu'ell' auoit [188] ja procuré des aumoſnes aux Ieſuites, à laquelle ils faiſoit fort bõ accueil, & voyãt que pluſieurs rares vertus brilloyent en elle, il cuida qu'elle pourroit bien encliner à ceſte bonn'œuure. Il luy en parla, & ladicte Dame reſpondit, que volontiers ell'entreroit en l'aſſociation que le ſieur Robin, & les Ieſuites auoyent auecques luy pour le ſecours de Canada, moyennant que ce fuſt de la bonne volonté des aſſociés, & qu'elle les aideroit treſtous de bonn'affectiõ. Vous pouuez eſtimer ſi les Ieſuites deuoyent

CHAPTER XX. [i.e., xix.]

HOW MADAME LA MARQUISE DE GUERCHEVILLE OBTAINED FROM THE KING THE LANDS OF [187] NEW FRANCE, AND THE HELP WHICH SHE SENT THERE.

SIEUR du Potrincourt having returned to France in the month of August of the year 1611, as has been said above, searched on all sides for ways and means of being able to help his people, who he knew could not continue long without reinforcements and fresh food. The trouble was to find some good Æolus, King of the South and North winds, who would be willing to give them, not as they were given to Ulysses, bound up in a leather bag so as not to blow, but free and propitious to swell the sails, for without this no ship could advance. Now considering that Madame la Marquise de Guercheville had the conversion of the Savages very much at heart; that she had [188] already procured some donations for the Jesuits, which they received very gratefully; and seeing that many rare virtues shone in her character, he thought that she might readily favor this good work. He spoke to her about it, and the Lady responded that she would willingly enter into the partnership which sieur Robin and the Jesuits had formed with him for assisting Canada, provided that this was the wish of the partners, and that she would aid them all with affectionate interest. You may judge whether the Jesuits

reſiſter à ceſte propoſition, ou ſi le ſieur Robin en eſtoit malcontent, à qui ja Canada ne peſoit que trop. Ainſi donc contract fut paſſé d'aſſociation. Ladicte Dame eſtant à ce autoriſee par le ſieur de Liencourt premier Eſcuyer de ſa Majeſté, & Gouuerneur de Paris ſon honnoré, [189] & digne mary. Par ce contract eſtoit arreſté qu'icelle Dame dõneroit preſentement mille eſcus pour la cargaiſon d'vn nauire, & moyennant ce ell'entreroit en part, & des profits que ledit nauire rapporteroit du pays, & des terres que ſa Majeſté auoit donné audit ſieur de Potrincourt, ainſi qu'il eſt amplement porté dans la minute. En ce contract, le ſieur de Potrincourt ſe reſerue Port Royal & ſes terres, & dit n'entendre point, qu'il entre en diuiſion, ny communication des autres Seigneuries, Caps, Haures, & Prouinces, qu'il donne à entendre d'auoir audit pays, outre Port Royal. Or Madame la Marquiſe ſomma ledit ſieur de Potrincourt de produire les papiers & inſtruments, par leſquels il conſtaſt de ces ſiennes appartenances & domaine ſi grand; il s'excuſa, diſant, [190] qu'il les auoit laiſſé en la nouuelle France. Ceſte reſponſe fit ſoupçõner ladicte Dame & comme, ell'eſt prudente, engin ne luy manqua pas pour ſe garder d'eſtre ſurpriſe: car elle fit auec le ſieur Pierre du Gua, dit de Monts, qu'il luy retrocedaſt tous les droicts, actiõs, & pretenſions qu'il auoit, & auoit oncques eu, en la nouuelle France à cauſe de la donation à luy faicte par feu Henry le Grand. Item d'autre part, elle impetra lettres de ſa Majeſté à preſent regnant, par leſquelles donation luy eſt faicte de nouueau de toutes les terres, portes & haures de la nouuelle France dés la grande riuiere, iuſques à la Flo-

ought to have refused this proposition, or whether sieur Robin, upon whom Canada already weighed rather heavily, was dissatisfied with it. Thus then the contract of association[88] was entered into, the Lady being authorized to do this by sieur de Liencourt, chief Equerry of his Majesty, and Governor of Paris, her honored [189] and worthy husband.[42] By this contract it was arranged that the Lady should give at once a thousand écus for the lading of a ship, and in consideration of this she would have a share both in the profits which said ship would bring back from the country, and in the lands which his Majesty had given to sieur de Potrincourt, as is amply set forth in the minutes. In this contract, sieur de Potrincourt reserves for himself Port Royal and its lands, and says that it is not to be understood that he enters into partition or transference of other Seigneuries, Capes, Harbors, and Provinces, which he gives to understand he possesses in that country, outside of Port Royal. Now Madame la Marquise summoned sieur de Potrincourt to produce the papers and documents, by which he could prove these his so great appurtenances and domains; he excused himself, saying [190] that he had left them in new France. This answer made the Lady suspicious, and, as she is prudent, means were not lacking to guard against fraud; for she arranged with sieur Pierre du Gua, called de Monts, that he should give up to her all rights, claims and pretensions that he had, and ever had had, in new France, based upon the deed of gift made to him by the late Henry the Great. Also on the other hand she secured letters from his Majesty now reigning, by which a deed of gift was newly granted her of all the lands, ports, and harbors

ride, horsmis ſeulement Port ROYAL. Et en ceſte façon celuy qu'on euſt penſé eſtre le plus fin ſe retrouua contre ſon opinion ſerré & confiné comm'en priſon dedans ſon Port [181 i.e., 191] Royal, parce qu'en verité, il n'a, ny n'a iamais eu autres terres, Caps, ny aures, Iſles, ny continent, ſinon Port Royal, & ſa coſte: Là où maintenant la dicte Dame tient tout le reſte par double tiltre, ſçauoir eſt, & de donation ou ceſſion du ſieur de Monts, & de donation nouuelle faicte par ſa Majeſté à preſent regnant.

Or icelle craignant, que ſon argent ne fiſt naufrage auãt que de monter ſur mer, elle l'auoit confié entre les mains d'vn Ieſuite coadiuteur, qu'on enuoyoit à la nouuelle France, pour aider les Preſtres qui ja y eſtoyent. Le Ieſuite deuoit conſigner ceſt argent à Dieppe entre les mains d'vn marchand, qui l'employaſt en l'achept de victuailles, marchandiſes, & affretement; mais il fut trop à la bonne foy. Car à la requiſition du ſieur de Potrincourt il s'en laiſſa [192] tirer quatre cẽts eſcus ſans autre caution, que d'en retirer vne cedule. Ainſi il n'y euſt que ſix cents eſcus employez en tout cet affretement; Emplete bien digne de Canada.

Ce n'eſt pas tout. Le ſieur de Potrincourt cõmit à l'adminiſtratiõ du nauire, & maniemẽt des affaires vn certain ſien ſeruiteur, appellé Simon Imbert, anciennement tauernier à Paris, & alors cherchant parmy les bois de la nouuelle France de quoy payer ſes creanciers. Le nauire appartenoit à vn Capitaine, appellé Nicolas l'Abbé, de Dieppe, honneſte, & ſage perſonne. Ce nauire donc ainſi equippé & freté partit de Dieppe le 31. de Decembre au le plus fort de l'hyuer, & paruint heureuſement à Port Royal le 23.

of new France from the great river to Florida, with the sole exception of Port Royal. And in this way he, who was thought to be so shrewd, found himself, against his choice, locked up and confined as in a prison within his Port [181 i.e., 191] Royal; because, in truth, he has not and never has had, other lands, Capes or harbors, Islands or continent, except Port Royal and its coasts. Whereas now this Lady holds all the rest by a double title; namely, by donation or cession of sieur de Monts, and by a deed of gift newly granted by his Majesty now reigning.

Now she, fearing her money might be wrecked before it had embarked upon the sea, confided it to the hands of a Jesuit lay brother,[43] who was being sent to new France to help the Priests who were already there. The Jesuit was to deliver this money at Dieppe into the hands of a merchant, that he might use it in the purchase of food, merchandise, and freight; but he was too confiding. For at the requisition of sieur de Potrincourt, he allowed [192] four hundred écus to be drawn without other security than a note of hand. Therefore he used only six hundred écus for this entire cargo; an investment very worthy of Canada.

This is not all. Sieur de Potrincourt confided the administration of the ship and the management of affairs, to a certain servant of his called Simon Imbert, a former innkeeper at Paris, and at that time seeking in the woods of new France something with which to pay his creditors. The ship belonged to a Captain, called Nicolas l'Abbé, of Dieppe, an honest and prudent man. So this vessel, thus equipped and freighted, departed from Dieppe the 31st of December in the very depth of winter, and arrived happily

de Ianuier en l'an ſuiuant 1612. n'ayant conſumé que deux moys en chemin.

at Port Royal on the 23rd of January in the following year, 1612, having consumed only two months in the journey.

CHAPITRE XXI. [i.e., xx.]

[193] LE COMMENCEMENT DES DISPUTES ENTRE LE SIEUR DE BIENCOURT, & LES IESUITES & LES CAUSES D'ICELLES, L'ACCUSATION, QU'ON FIT DE GILBERT DU THET, & SA DEFENSE.

LA ioye fut grande aux ſecourus de ceſte arriuée de nauire pour l'eſtroitte neceſſité où ils ſe retrouuoyent, & les frayeurs, qu'ils auoyent conçeu de l'aduenir. Mais ceſte reſiouiſſance ne fut pas longue, le ſieur de Biencour n'eſtant point à ſon aiſe dés que Simon Imbert, luy euſt porté nouuelles de l'aſſociation faicte auec Madame la Marquiſe de Guercheuille. Or parce que le Ieſuite Gilbert du Thet, eſtant dans le nauire, quoy qu'il ne ſe fuſt meſlé des affaires, toutesfois [194] n'auoit pas eſté ſi borgne (comme l'on dit) qu'il ny euſt touſiours veu d'vn œil; comme il en auoit charge, & commandement. Iceluy doncques pour s'acquitter de ſon deuoir, & garder le droit, s'en alla trouuer le ſieur de Biencourt, en preſence du P. Biard luy dit, Qu'il s'eſmerueilloit bien fort, que Simon Imbert ayant eu l'adminiſtration de tout l'embarquement, ce neantmoins il n'auoit apporté aucun roolle, ny charte-partie, ny memoires de ce qui auoit eſté embarqué, ny où, ny comment l'argent de Madame la Marquiſe auoit eſté employé. Qu'il deuoit bien l'auoir faict au moins pour iuſtification de ſa probité, & bonne foy meſmes, puis qu'il apportoit pluſieurs marchandiſes

CHAPTER XXI. [i.e., xx.]

[193] THE BEGINNING OF THE DISPUTES BETWEEN SIEUR DE BIENCOURT AND THE JESUITS, AND THE CAUSES THEREOF; THE ACCUSATION MADE AGAINST GILBERT DU THET, AND HIS DEFENSE.

GREAT was the rejoicing over the relief afforded by the arrival of this ship, on account of the severe straits to which the colonists had been reduced, and the dread which they felt for the future. But this joy did not last long, sieur de Biencour being ill at ease on account of the news brought by Simon Imbert about the partnership formed with the Marquise de Guercheville. Now the Jesuit, Gilbert du Thet, being in the ship, although he had not meddled with affairs, nevertheless [194] had not been so blind of one eye (as the saying is) that he had not always kept watch with the other, as he had been charged and commanded to do. Now in order to acquit himself of his duty, and to uphold the right, he went to see sieur de Biencourt; and, in the presence of Father Biard, he said to him: That he was very much surprised that, as Simon Imbert had had the management of the entire embarkation, nevertheless he had not brought any list of the ship's company, nor charter party,[44] nor invoice of what had been shipped, nor statement of where or how the money of Madame la Marquise de Guercheville had been spent. That he ought to have done this at least for the vindication of his own honesty and good faith, since he had

qu'il aſſeuroit eſtre à luy en proprieté, & deſquelles on pourroit auoir ſoupçon, qu'il ſe fuſt accommodé [195] au detriment de la dicte Dame, & d'eux. Qu'ils ne vouloyent point l'accuſer auant que de l'auoir trouué coulpable, neãtmoins qu'auant auſſi de le recognoiſtre non coulpable, il y auoit bien de quoy s'enquerir en tout cela, & meſmes de ce qu'il auoit vendu à Dieppe du bled, qui luy auoit eſté dõné pour l'embarquement: choſe qui tournoit au grand preiudice de l'habitation, laquelle defailloit principalement en victuailles. Item, qu'il comptoit ſept barrils de Galette deſpenſez durant le voyage, & il ne diſoit rien que de ces ſept il y en auoit deux, qu'vn certain Robert de Roüen auoit fourny pour ſa part: car en ceſte façon il ne falloit pas compter ſur la compagnie ſept barrils, ains cinq tant ſeulement. Qu'on ſupplioit ledit ſieur de s'enqueſter de tout l'affaire prudemment, [196] & s'y conduire touſiours comme nous deuons par tout, auec charité, & retenuë. Telle fut la ſimple remonſtrance, que luy fit le Ieſuite, & le ſieur de Biencourt a ſouuent depuis rendu teſmoignage, qu'on ne luy pouuoit indiquer ce meſnage, auec plus de modeſtie que lon fit. Neantmoins au lieu de faire ce dequoy on l'auoit requis, & à quoy il eſtoit tenu, il s'en alla rapporter le tout audit Simon Imbert, adiouſtant que le Ieſuite coadiuteur l'auoit accusé.

Or quels conſeils furent prins là deſſus, & quelles menées, ou pretenſions, ie n'en ſçay rien. Tant y a, que comme de petites exhalaiſons & vapeurs, qui au commencement ne ſont rien, s'eſleuent d'eſpaiſſes nuees, vents furieux, & horribles tempeſtes qui à traict de temps s'effarouchent & [197] gaſtent les cãpagnes & moiſſons: Ainſi de ce peu de cauſe par

brought a great deal of merchandise which he claimed belonged to him, and which it would be suspected he had appropriated [195] to the detriment of the said Lady, and of themselves. That they did not wish to accuse him before having found him guilty; nevertheless, before admitting his innocence, there was a great deal to investigate in the whole matter, and especially in regard to his having sold at Dieppe wheat which had been given him to be shipped — an act which would prove to be a great disadvantage to the settlement, which was in need of provisions more than of anything else. Also, that he counted seven barrels of Sea-biscuits dispensed during the voyage, and he did not say that of these seven, two were furnished by a certain Robert de Roüen as his share; so, for this reason, seven barrels should not have been charged to the company, but only five. That the sieur was entreated to investigate the whole affair prudently, [196] and to conduct himself always in the matter as we ought to do in all things, with charity and dignity. Such was the simple remonstrance that was made to him by the Jesuit; and sieur de Biencourt has often testified since then, that this matter could not have been called to his attention with greater delicacy than it was. But, instead of doing what he was requested, and what he was bound to do, he went and reported the whole affair to Simon Imbert, adding that the Jesuit lay brother had accused him.

Now what counsels were held thereupon, and what underhand dealings or claims, I know not. However, as from little exhalations and vapors, which at first amount to nothing, arise dense clouds, furious winds, and horrible tempests, which suddenly sweep

l'agitation de l'eſprit malin ſe groſſit en vn tourbillon malencontreux de diſcorde, qui a diſſipé, & rauagé tous les fruicts, & les eſperances de ce premier eſſartemẽt. Car Imbert luy depeignit l'aſſociation faicte auec la Dame Marquiſe de de Guercheuille comm'vn moyen inuenté par les Ieſuites, à fin de l'expulſer hors de ſes amples Seigneuries de Canada.

Or les Ieſuites n'eſtants point aiſes de ſe voir loger en ſi ioly predicament, par deux fois en preſence du ſieur de Biencourt, & de toute l'habitation conuainquirent de fauſſeté ledit Imbert par les teſmoins meſmes qu'il alleguoit; & en la ſecõde le preſſerent tellement qu'il fut contrainct de dire qu'il auoit eſté yure quand il auoit ainſi parlé. Deſquelles verités [198] & innocence, y a bons & authentiques actes, & teſmoignages faicts & rendus iuridiquemẽt à Dieppe par deuant le Magiſtrat, apres le retour du nauire.

over and [197] destroy fields and harvests; so from this slight cause, through the agitation of the evil spirit, the trouble increased to a mischievous whirlwind of discord, which has scattered and ravaged all the fruits and hopes of this first clearing. For Imbert represented to him that the partnership formed with Madame la Marquise de Guercheville was a means invented by the Jesuits to drive him out of his broad Seigneuries of Canada.

Now the Jesuits, not pleased at seeing themselves placed in such a pretty predicament, twice in the presence of sieur de Biencourt and of the whole settlement, convicted the said Imbert of duplicity, by the very same witnesses which he had put forward; and the second time they pressed him so hard that he was compelled to say he had been drunk when he had spoken thus. Of their truth [198] and innocence in this, there are good and authentic records and proofs, made and rendered according to law at Dieppe, before the Magistrate, after the return of the ship.

CHAPITRE XXIII. [i.e., xxi.]

VN VOYAGE DU PERE ENEMOND MASSÉ & VN AUTRE DU P. BIARD.

LA reconciliation ayant eſté faicte du depuis, & toutes choſes pacifiées, les Ieſuites ſe r'adonnans à l'eſtude, & apprentiſſage du langage Sauuaginois, eſtimerent vn bon moyen de s'y cõtraindre, & d'apprendre mieux les vs, façons, & vie du pays, s'ils alloyent, & demeuroyent auec les naturels, errants, & courants auec eux par monts & vallées; & viuants à leur mode quant au ciuil, [199] & corporel. Ils s'offrirent à Louys Membertou, pour en ceſte façon demeurer auec luy, s'il luy plaiſoit l'agreer: ce qu'il accepta fort volontiers. Le P. Enemond Maſſé, comm'il eſt courageux, voulut que ceſt'entreprinſe fuſt pour luy; auſſi fut-il iugé plus propre à cela par la cõmune voix de ceux de l'habitation, à cauſe de ſon induſtrie, & engin practic, idoine de trouuer tous remedes à tous inconueniens. Il s'en alla dõc auec Louys Membertou, & ſa famille, au delà de la Baye Françoiſe à la riuiere S. Iean, & commença ſon nouitiat de ceſte vie Nomadique, bien aſpre de vray, & de fort eſſay.

Ceſte vie eſt ſans ordre, & ſans ordinaire, ſans pain, ſans ſel, & bien ſouuent auec rien; touſiours en courſes, & changements, au vent, à l'air, & mauuais temps; [200] pour toict, vne meſchante cabane: pour repoſoir, la terre: pour repos les crys, & chants odi-

CHAPTER XXIII. [i.e., xxi.]

A JOURNEY MADE BY FATHER ENEMOND MASSÉ, AND ANOTHER BY FATHER BIARD.

A RECONCILIATION was effected afterward, and everything calmed down. The Jesuits, devoting themselves to the study and apprenticeship of the Savage language, thought a good way to force themselves to this, and to better learn the usages, habits and life of the country, would be to go away and live with the natives, wandering and roving about as they did through mountains and valleys, and adopting their ways, civil [199] as well as physical. They offered themselves to Louys Membertou, to live with him in that way, if he were pleased to receive them: he agreed to do so very willingly. Father Enemond Massé, as he was full of courage, desired that this enterprise should fall to him; also he was judged more suitable for it by the common voice of the settlement, on account of his industry and practical ingenuity, ready to find a remedy for every inconvenience. He went away then, with Louys Membertou and his family, beyond French Bay to St. John river, and began his novitiate in this Nomadic life, truly a very hard and trying ordeal.

This life is without order and without daily fare, without bread, without salt, and often without anything; always moving on and changing, in the wind, in the air, and in bad weather; [200] for roof, a wretched cabin; for couch, the earth; for rest and

eux: pour remedes, la faim, & le trauail. C'eſtoit à la verité, vne regle bien forte. Ledit P. Enemond à fin de garder par tout l'honneſteté religieuſe auoit amené auec ſoy vn ieune garçõ François biẽ gaillard, qui l'aidoit, luy aſſiſtoit par tout, & luy ſeruoit à la Meſſe. Mais & maiſtre & ſeruiteur tous deux ſe trouuerent bien toſt rudement examinés par vne diete ſi diſtemperée; tout leur en-bon-point decheut; leurs forces, couleur, & gaillardiſe; les iambes leur deuindrent groſſes & peſantes, les eſprits aſſopis, & ſucceda vne fieure lente: laquelle toutesfois ſe paſſa bien toſt: & depuis peu à peu ils prindrent ply, & reuindrent aucunement à leur vigueur. Le Pere Enemond y penſa perdre la veuë [201] ſans aucun mal des yeux: L'atrophie à mon aduis cauſoit ceſte debilité de ſens, & des eſprits.

Ce temps pendant, le P. Biard demeuroit à Port Royal, ayant pris auec ſoy vn Sauuage, lequel il nourriſſoit, & s'en ſeruoit comme de maiſtre en langue Sauuagine. Il le nourriſſoit, dis-je, de ce qu'il auoit peu eſpargner de ſon ordinaire, & meſme le ſeruoit, parce que les Sauuages, ou de pareſſe, ou pluſtoſt de hautaineté de courage ne ſe daigneroyent faire aucuns ſeruice, comme d'aller à l'eau, au bois, à la cuiſine, &c. d'autant que, diſent-ils, cela appartient aux femmes. Il entretint donc ce Sauuage, & fut ſon apprẽtif au lãgage trois ſemaines durant, mais il ne peut plus long temps, faute d'auoir dequoy le nourrir, ce qui luy fut fort grief, parce que le Sauuage eſtoit de [202] bon naturel, & demeuroit auec luy bien volontiers.

Or tandis que le P. Enemond eſtoit malade entre les Sauuages, arriua vn plaiſant rencontre. Ledit

quiet, odious cries and songs; for medicine, hunger, and hard work. It was, in truth, a very painful mode of living. Father Enemond, in order to everywhere preserve a religious propriety, had taken with him a young and vigorous French boy, who helped him, attended him wherever he went, and assisted him at the Mass. But both master and servant soon found themselves in a bad condition through such irregular diet: they became thin, and lost their strength, color, and cheerfulness; their legs grew big and heavy, their minds were dulled, and a low fever set in; however, this soon passed away, and then little by little they regained their usual appearance, and each was restored to his customary vigor. Father Enemond thought he was going to lose his sight, [201] without any disease of the eyes; atrophy, it seems to me, caused this debility of the senses and of the mind.

During this time, Father Biard remained at Port Royal, having with him a Savage whom he fed and made use of as a master in the Savage tongue. He fed him, I say, from what he had been able to save from his own daily fare, and even waited on him; for the Savages, either from laziness, or from lofty courage, do not deign to do any work, such as going for water, for wood, to the kitchen, etc., for they say that belongs to the women. So he entertained this Savage, and was his apprentice in the language for three weeks, but he could keep it up no longer, for want of something to give him to eat; this grieved him exceedingly, for the Savage was [202] good-natured, and willing to live with him.

Now while Father Enemond was sick among the Savages, an amusing incident occurred. As the Father was in a cabin, apart from the others on ac-

Pere s'eſtant cabané à part pour cauſe de ſa maladie, Loys Membertou le vint trouuer fort en peine (comm'il monſtroit,) & luy dit: Eſcoute Pere. Tu t'en vas mourir, ie le deuine. Eſcry donc à Biencourt, & à ton frere, que tu es mort de maladie, & que nous ne t'auons pas tué. Ie m'en garderay bien (dit le P. Enemond:) car poſſible apres que i'aurois eſcrit la lettre, tu me tuerois, cependant tu porterois ta lettre d'innocence, que tu ne m'aurois pas tué. Icy le Sauuage reuint à ſoy, & ſe recogneut (car il n'eſt pas lourd:) & ſe prenant à rire. Bien donc (dit-il,) prie Ieſus que tu ne meure pas, à fin qu'on ne nous accuſe de t'auoir [203] faict mourir. Auſſi fais-je, dit le P. Enemond, n'aye peur, ie ne mourray pas.

Sur la fin d'Aouſt d'icell'année 1612. le ſieur de Biencourt voulut aller à la Baye des Mines à 21. ou 22. lieuës de Port Royal: de vray il y alloit bien mal en conche, dans vne pietre chaloupe, n'ayant que pour huict iours de viures, & manquant de toutes autres prouiſions. Le P. Biard neantmoins s'offrit à l'accompagner, parce que ledit ſieur promettoit de s'enqueſter, & rechercher nouuelles du P. Enemond, duquel ja dés deux mois nous n'auions rien ouy, & nous nous craignions fort, qu'il ne fuſt tombé en quelque inconuenient, ou maladie.

Or quoy que ſi mal prouiſionnés, toutesfois nous n'allaſmes pas ſeulement à la Baye des Mines: ains auſſi à Chinictou; Champlain [204] appelle ceſte Baye, la Baye de Genes. A ce Chinictou y a de fort belles, & grandes prairies à perte de veuë, pluſieurs riuieres ſe deſchargent dans ladicte Baye, & par aucunes d'icelles on monte bien haut pour aller à Gachepé. Les Sauuages de ceſt endroit peuuent monter à

count of his illness, Loys Membertou, apparently in great trouble, came to see him, and said to him: "Listen, Father. Thou art going to die; I predict it. Write now to Biencourt and to thy brother, that thou hast died of disease, and that we did not kill thee." "I shall take care not to do that" (said Father Enemond), "for possibly after I had written this letter, thou wouldst kill me, and then thou wouldst take there thy innocent letter, saying thou hadst not killed me." Here the Savage, seeing what was meant (for he is not dull) and recovering his equanimity began to laugh. "Well then" (said he), "pray Jesus that thou mayest not die, so they will not accuse us of having [203] killed thee." "Indeed, I am doing so," said Father Enemond; "do not fear, I shall not die."

Towards the end of August of this year, 1612, sieur de Biencourt wished to go to the Bay of Mines, 21 or 22 leagues from Port Royal: he was certainly ill-prepared to go there, in a wretched boat, having food for only eight days, and lacking all other provisions. Father Biard, however, offered to accompany him, because the sieur promised to inquire about and seek news of Father Enemond, of whom we had heard nothing for two months, and who, we greatly feared, had fallen into some trouble or sickness.

Now although so badly provisioned, nevertheless we went not only to the Bay of Mines, but also to Chinictou; Champlain [204] calls this Bay, the Baye de Genes. At this Chinictou there are many large and beautiful meadows, extending farther than the eye can reach; many rivers discharge their waters into it, through some of which one can sail quite far up on the route to Gachepé.[45] The Savages of this place may number sixty or eighty souls, and they are not so

ſoixante, ou quatre vingts ames, & ne ſont point ſi vagabons, que les autres, ſoit pource que le lieu eſt plus retiré, ſoit qu'il eſt plus abondant en chaſſe, n'eſtant point de beſoin d'en ſortir pour viure. Le pays eſt pour la pluſpart agreable; & à mon aduis, de grande fertilité s'il eſtoit cultiué. Il eſt dans le quarente ſix degré d'eleuation polaire.

A noſtre retour de la dicte Baye Dieu nous preſerua euidemment deux fois emmy la tempeſte. Et la troiſieſme fut celle que [205] ie m'en vais raconter. Nous n'auions apporté que pour huit iours de viures, & ja y en auoit quinze de noſtre deſpart. Le mauuais temps nous tenoit au delà de la Baye des mines, du coſté de la riuiere S. Iean, ſi le contraſtre ou contrarieté de vents euſt duré, c'en eſtoit fait, il falloit mourir de faim, car nous n'auions rien. La nuict venuë le P. Biard perſuada à la compagnie de faire vn vœu à noſtre Seigneur, & à ſa benoiſte Mere, que s'il leur plaiſoit nous donner vent propice, les quatre Sauuages qui eſtoyent auec nous ſe feroyent Chreſtiens. Les Sauuages en furent bien contans, & ainſi le vœu fut faict. Le matin venu le vent fut eſueillé tel qu'il le nous falloit, & à ſon ayde nous trauerſaſmes la dicte Baye, qui eſt de huict lieües de large. Or arriuez à terre du coſté de Port Royal [206] le vent nous manqua. Et ſi auions marée contre nous & quinze lieües iuſques à Port Royal.

A ceſte cauſe le ſieur de Biencourt nous quitta, aymant mieux s'en aller à pied auec les Sauuages: Mais il fut trompé, car auſſi toſt, qu'il nous euſt delaiſſez, le bon temps nous reuint a l'aide duquel, & du bon courage des compagnons, nous arriuaſmes ce meſme iour à Port Royal; là où ledit ſieur n'y reuint, que

nomadic as the others, either because the place is more retired, or because game is more abundant, there being no need of their going out to seek food. The country is, for the most part, agreeable, and, in my opinion, would be very fertile if it were cultivated. It is within the forty-sixth degree of north latitude.

Upon our return from this Bay, God manifestly preserved us twice in the midst of the tempest. And the third escape is that which [205] I am going to describe. We had carried with us food for only eight days and it had already been fifteen since our departure. Bad weather kept us beyond the Bay of mines, on the St. John river side; and, if the contrary or adverse winds had continued, it would have been all over with us, as we would have had to die of hunger, for we had nothing. When night came, Father Biard persuaded the company to make a vow to our Lord, and to his blessed Mother, that if it pleased them to send propitious winds, the four Savages who were with us would become Christians. The Savages were willing to do this, and the vow was made. In the morning the wind arose, such a one as we were in need of, and by its aid we crossed the Bay, which is eight leagues wide. Now when we reached shore on the Port Royal side, [206] the wind failed us; also we had the tide against us, and we were fifteen leagues from Port Royal.

For this reason sieur de Biencourt left us, preferring to go on foot with the Savages: but he made a mistake, for immediately after his departure, good weather returned, by the aid of which, and owing to the good courage of our companions, we arrived the same day at Port Royal; whereas the sieur did not get there until three days later, after much suffering.

trois iours apres ayant prou paty. Or les Sauuages eſtoyent preſts à receuoir le S. Bapteſme, mais on n'auoit pas dequoy les nourrir quatre ou cinq iours, qu'il euſt fallu pour les Catechiſer. Car tout nous manquoit. On les differa iuſques à ce que le nauire fut venu qu'on attendoit de iour à autre. Mais l'attente fut vayne, ainſi qu'ouïrez. Et ainſi l'occaſion de ce bien ſe perdit à [207] noſtre grand regret.

Or le P. Biard reuenu à la maiſon comme il eſtoit bien aiſe d'auoir ſi merueilleuſement euadé la mort, la faim & les orages; Auſſi eſtoit-il en triſteſſe fort grande pour n'auoir ſceu nouuelles aucunes de ſon cher Confrere le P. Enemond, qu'il aymoit vniquement. Mais Dieu le reſiouyt plenierement ce meſme iour. Car comme ſi le rendez-vous leur euſt eſté donné à meſme aſſignation, il arriua ce meſme iour ſur le veſpre, ſain & ſauue, & chargé de merites & bonnes œuures: tant pour auoir beaucoup paty, comme pour auoir mis au Paradis quelques ames, qui eſtoyent paſſeés auſſi toſt apres le S. Bapteſme. De vray ils eurent tous deux grande occaſion de benir d'vn grand cœur leur bon Dieu, & Seigneur, qui les cõſoloit ſi paternellement, [208] & ſi oculairement les protegeoit en tout, & par tout.

Now the Savages were ready to receive Holy Baptism, but there was nothing for them to eat during the four or five days in which they would have to be Catechized. For we were in need of everything. It was put off until the coming of the ship, which was expected from day to day; but the expectation was vain, as you will hear. And thus the opportunity for this good deed was lost, to [207] our great regret.

Now Father Biard, being again at home, although he was very happy at having so wonderfully escaped death, famine, and tempest; nevertheless was exceedingly cast down at not having heard any news of his dear Brother, Father Enemond, for whom he had a singular attachment. But God completely relieved his fears that very day. For, as if the rendezvous had been assigned them at this very place, he arrived the same day, safe and sound, and loaded with merit and good works: as much for having suffered so greatly, as for having placed in Paradise some souls, which had passed away immediately after Holy Baptism. In truth they both had reason to bless with full hearts their good God and Lord, who comforted them like a father, [208] and so visibly protected them in all things, and everywhere.

CHAPITRE XXIV. [i. e., xxii.]

CE QU'ARRIUA L'HYUER, & LE PRINTEMPS SUIUANT, DE L'AN 1613.

LE ſieur de Biencourt s'attendoit totalement de receuoir ſecours de France auant l'Hyuer, voyre meſme on auoit dit qu'il y auoit trois, ou quatre nauires en chemin, & ja recherchoit-on, où l'on pourroit loger tant & tant de biens, qui venoyent en flotte. Sur ceſte confiance le ſieur de Biencourt auoit trocqué quaſi tout. Et partant ſe vit bien esbahy, quand à la Touſſaincts il ſe trouua hors de tout eſpoir de ſecours pour ceſte année là.

[209] Or les Ieſuites, qui n'auoyent point mis cuire (comme l'on dit) ſur ces imaginatiues attentes, auoyent reſerué dans leur magaſin cinq grands poinçons de bled; quatre de pur froment, & vn d'orge qu'on leur auoit enuoyé de France pour leur particulier. Tout cela faiſoit quatorze barils de bon grain. Eux donc voyants la neceſſité du ſieur de Biencourt, l'allerent trouuer, & luy offrirent leurs moyens de bonne volonté, & qu'il prinſt tout leur bled, hors ſeulement deux barrils de froment, & vn d'orge, qu'ils ſe deſiroyent reſeruer pour diuers accidents de neceſſitez, & maladies tant d'eux, que des autres. Quant au reſte, qu'on n'innoueroit rien, ains à leur accouſtumée ils receuroyent la distribution quotidienne à l'egal des autres. Le ſieur de Biencourt accepta l'offre, & les [210] conditiõs, & ſelon icelles on commença de viure.

Ce pendant les Ieſuites ayants Dieu pour appuy, ne

CHAPTER XXIV. [i.e., xxii.]

WHAT HAPPENED DURING THE WINTER AND SPRING FOLLOWING, OF THE YEAR 1613.

SIEUR de Biencourt fully expected to receive help from France before Winter, especially as it had been said that there were three or four ships on the way, and already we were looking about to see where we could store so many things as were coming in this fleet. Trusting in this, sieur de Biencourt had traded almost everything. He was therefore very much astonished, when on All Saints' day, he found himself without hope of any relief that year.

[209] Now the Jesuits, who had not built much (as the saying is) upon these visionary expectations, had reserved in their storeroom five large puncheons of grain, four of pure wheat and one of barley, which had been sent from France for their own use. It made in all fourteen barrels of good grain. Now, when they saw sieur de Biencourt's necessity, they went to him and cheerfully offered him their means, saying that he should take all their grain with the sole exception of two barrels of wheat and one of barley, which they wished to reserve for various emergencies of want and sickness, both for themselves and the others. As to the remainder, they would not touch it, except to receive as usual their daily portion like the others. Sieur de Biencourt accepted the offer, and its [210] conditions, and according to these we began to live.

perdoyent point courage, ains ſelon la lumiere, & l'engin, que leur eſtoit donné, pouruoyoyent à l'aduenir. Partant ils s'auiſerent de baſtir vne chaloupe, tandis que les autres demeuroyent au pres du feu à leur aiſe ſans trauailler. Car ils preuoyoyent, que ſans bateau, il leur conuiendroit mourir de faim apres deux mois que leur pourroit durer leur orge, parce qu'ils ne pourroyent aller ſans bateau ny au gland, ny aux coques, ny aux racines, ny à la peſche, ny autre part, où ſeroit quelque eſperance de queſte. Parce que le chemins de ce païs là ſont les riuieres, & la mer.

Au commencements de ceſte leur entreprinſe de baſtir vne [211] chaloupe, on ſe mocquoit deux: car le cõducteur de l'œuure eſtoit leur garçon, qui n'en ſçauoit pas plus qu'vn apprentif: ſes aides eſtoyent deux Preſtres, qui iamais n'auoyent faict tel meſtier. Neãtmoins (diſoit-on) le P. Enemond ſçait tout faire, & au beſoin il ſe trouuera bon Scieur d'ais, bon calfeutreur, & bõ Architecte. Mais le P. Biard dequoy ſeruira-il à cela? Ne ſçais-tu pas, (diſoit l'autre,) que quand la chaloupe ſera faicte, il luy donnera la benediction. Ainſi cauſoyent-ils, & en auoyent beau loiſir, aupres du feu. Mais les Ieſuites ne perdoyent point de temps à ſcier planches, à raboter ais, rechercher courbes, à faire eſtoupes des bouts de cordages qu'ils recouuroyent, à courir les bois pour amaſſer de la reſine. Que voulez-vous? A la my-Mars leur gaillarde chaloupe fut [212] dans l'eau equippée, parée, accommodée brauement auec l'admiration de ceux qui s'en eſtoyent moquez: & tout au contraire, le ſieur de Biencourt, qui au commencement de l'Hyuer auoit eu trois bonnes chaloupes, à la fin ne s'en trouua du tout point, & fut contraint du bris d'icelles

Meanwhile the Jesuits, with God as their support, did not lose heart, but, according to the light and ingenuity given them, provided for the future. Thus they decided to construct a boat while the others were sitting around the fire doing nothing. For they foresaw that, without this, they would surely die of hunger after the two months in which their barley would last; and, having no boat, they could not go for acorns, shells, roots, or fish, nor to any place where there would be hope of finding something. For the roads in that country are the rivers and the sea.

When they began to carry out this plan of constructing a [211] boat they were both laughed at; for the master of the work was their servant, who knew nothing more about it than an apprentice; his assistants were two Priests, who had never followed this trade. "Nevertheless" (some one said) "Father Enemond can do anything; and in case of need he will be found to be a good Sawyer of planks, a good caulker, and a good Architect. But of what use will Father Biard be in such work?" "Dost thou not know" (answered the other) "that when the boat is done he will give it his blessing?" Thus they chattered, and talked it over leisurely around the fire. But the Jesuits lost no time in sawing planks, planing boards, seeking bent wood, making oakum out of bits of rope which they found, and tramping over the woods in search of resin. What came of it? In the middle of March their jolly-boat was [212] upon the water equipped, adorned and fitted up bravely, to the admiration of those who had sneered at it: and on the other hand, sieur de Biencourt, who in the beginning of Winter had had three good shallops, at the end did not have any at all; and he was obliged, out of the

faire rauauder vn malotru bateau pour trois perſonnes au plus, qui n'euſt ſceu faire trois lieües continuellement en mer, qu'il ne fuſt pery, tant il faiſoit d'eau.

Or la chaloupe eſtant preſte, & appareillée, le P. Biard s'en alla premierement en haut contre la riuiere auec leur ſeruiteur, & vn tiers qui ſe ioigniſt à eux, appellé Iean Baptiſte Charpẽtier. Ils allerent à la queſte du gland, & des racines. Ces racines ſont appellées en Sauuageois *Chiquebi*, & s'engendrent volontiers aupres [213] des cheſnes. Elles ſont comme des truffes, mais meilleures, & croiſſent ſous terre enfilées l'vne à l'autre en forme de chapelet. Il y en a beaucoup en certains endroits. Vray eſt qu'il eſt bien difficile d'aller aucune part où les Sauuages n'ayent de ja foüillé, par ainſi on n'en trouue guieres que des bien petites. Et encores faut-il bien trauailler pour en viure vn iour.

Apres auoir couru en haut contre la riuiere pour les glands, & racines, il s'en alla à l'Eplan. Eplan ou Epelã eſt vn petit poiſſon cõme les ſardines de Roüẽ, qui venãt de la mer, fraye contre certains ruiſſeaux ſur le commencement d'Auril. Il y en a vn à quatre lieües de l'habitation de Port Royal, qui aucunesfois en fourmille tout en ce temps là. Pour ceſte cauſe les Sauuages auſſi s'y vont cabaner, & en viuent.

[214] Apres l'Eplan ſuccedent les Harencs, qui frayent de meſme en vn autre riuiere. Le P. Enemond Maſsé entreprit ceſte peſche des harencs, & apres celle-cy celle de molües, ja le mois de May eſtant venu. En ceſte façon nous boutames le temps (comme l'on dit) auec les eſpaules; ou plus toſt auec les pieds & bras, trainants noſtre miſerable vie iuſques à ce que le nauire arriua. Le voyage, & route duquel il nous faut reprendre de plus haut.

wrecks of these, to patch up a clumsy boat large enough for three people at the most, which leaked so badly that it could not go three continuous leagues upon the sea, without sinking.

Now the boat being ready and under sail, Father Biard, with the servant and another who had joined them, named Jean Baptiste Charpentier, first made a trip up the river. They went in search of acorns and roots. These roots in the Savage language are called *Chiquebi*,[46] and grow readily near [213] oak trees. They are like truffles, but better, and grow under the ground strung to each other like a rosary. There are many of them in certain places, yet it is very difficult to find any place where the Savages have not already been digging, and thus only very small ones are to be found. Also we must work hard to get enough of them for a day's food.

After having gone to the upper part of the river for acorns and roots, he went to get some Smelts. The Eplan or Epelan is a little fish like the sardine of Roüen, which, coming from the sea, spawns in certain brooks toward the beginning of April. There is one of these brooks four leagues from Port Royal, which sometimes completely swarms with them at that season. For this reason the Savages also go there to camp and live.

[214] After the Smelts come the Herrings, which in like manner spawn in another river. Father Enemond Massé engaged in this fishing for herring, and later for cod, until the coming of the month of May. And thus we were butting against time (as the saying is) with our shoulders, or rather with our hands and feet, dragging on our miserable lives until the arrival of the ship, whose voyage and route we must take up from farther back.

CHAPITRE XXV. [i.e., xxiii.]

L'ARRIUÉE DE LA SAUSSAYE À PORT ROYAL, & & DE LÀ, À S. SAUUEUR.

ON dreſſoit en France vn equipage pour retirer les Ieſuites de Port Royal, & fonder [215] vne nouuelle habitation de François en vn autre lieu plus commode.

Le chef de cet equipage eſtoit le Capitaine la Sauſſaye ayant trente perſonnes, qui deuoyent hyuerner ſur le pays, en contant les deux Ieſuites, & leur ſeruiteur qu'il deuoit prendre à Port Royal. Il auoit de plus auec ſoy deux autres Ieſuites, le Pere Quantin, & Gilbert du Thet qu'il conduiſoit: mais ils deuoyent reuenir en France au cas que les deux de Port Royal ne fuſſent pas morts, de quoy on ſe doutoit. Tout l'equipage en contant les Matelots, montoit à 48. perſonnes. Le maiſtre du nauire eſtoit Charles Flory de Habbe-ville, homme iudicieux, hardy & paiſible. La Royne de ſa grace auoit cõtribué aux deſpenſes quatre tentes ou pauillons du Roy, & quelques munitions [216] de guerres. Le ſieur Simon le Maiſtre auoit vacqué ſerieuſement à tout l'affretement & auitaillement. Et Gilbert du Thet, Ieſuite coadiuteur, homme fort induſtrieux, ne s'y eſtoit point eſpargné, de maniere qu'on eſtoit richement prouiſionné de toutes choſes pour plus d'vn an. Outre les cheuaux, & cheures qu'on y conduiſoit ja pour commencemẽt de meſnage. Le nauire eſtoit de cent tonneaux.

CHAPTER XXV. [i.e., xxiii.]

LA SAUSSAYE'S ARRIVAL AT PORT ROYAL, AND AFTERWARDS, AT ST. SAUVEUR.

THEY fitted up a ship in France to take the Jesuits away from Port Royal, and to found [215] a new French settlement in a more suitable place.

The chief of this expedition was Captain la Saussaye, who was to winter in the country with thirty persons, counting in the two Jesuits and their servant, whom he was to take up at Port Royal. He had with him, besides, two other Jesuits, Father Quantin and Gilbert du Thet, whom he was to take there; but they were to return to France in case the two at Port Royal were not dead, of which there was some doubt. The entire company, counting the Sailors, numbered 48 persons. The master of the ship was Charles Flory of Habbe-ville, a discreet, hardy and peaceable man. The Queen in her goodness had contributed four of the King's tents or pavilions, and some munitions [216] of war. Sieur Simon le Maistre had devoted himself earnestly to the freighting and provisioning, and Gilbert du Thet, the Jesuit lay brother, a very industrious man, had not spared himself; so they were amply provided with everything for more than a year, besides the horses and goats which were being taken over for domestic purposes. The ship was of a hundred tons burthen.

This expedition, thus fitted out, departed from

Cest equipage ainſi ordonné partit de Honfleur le 12. de Mars, l'an 1613. & territ premierement au Cap de la Heue en la coſte de l'Acadie, le 16. de May ayant conſumé en ſon traiect deux mois entiers. Au Cap de la Heue ils dirent Meſſe, & dreſſerẽt vne Croix, y appoſants les armoiries de Madame la Marquiſe de Guercheuille, pour marque de poſſeſſion [217] prinſe en ſon nom. De là ſe remettans en mer, ils vindrent à Port Royal.

A Port Royal ils ne trouuerent que cinq perſonnes, ſçauoir eſt, les deux Ieſuites, leur ſeruiteur, l'Apothicaire Herbert, & vn autre. Le ſieur de Biẽcourt & ſes autres gens eſtoyent tous bien loin, qui çà, qui là. Or parce que Hebert tenoit la place dudit ſieur: on luy preſenta les lettres de la Royne, par leſquelles iuſſion eſtoit faicte de relacher les Ieſuites, & leur permettre d'aller, où bon leur sẽbleroit: ainſi les Ieſuites retirerent leurs hardes en bonne paix. Et tant ce iour-là, que le ſuiuant on fit la meilleur chere qu'on peut à Hebert, & à ſon compagnon, à fin que ceſte venuë ne leur fuſt point triſte. Au depart (quoy qu'ils ne fuſsẽt point en diſette:) on leur laiſſa vn barril de pain, & quelques [218] flaccons de vin, à ce que l'Adieu fuſt pareillement de bonne grace.

La contrarieté des vents nous retint enuiron cinq iours à Port Royal, d'où s'eſleuant vn proſpere Nordeſt, nous partimes, en intention d'aller à la riuiere de Pentegoet, au lieu appellé *Kadeſquit*, lieu qu'on auoit deſtiné pour la nouuelle habitation, & ayant à tel effect beaucoup de grãds auãtages. Mais Dieu en diſpoſa autrement. Car comme nous fuſmes au Sueſt de l'Iſle de Menauo, le temps ſe change, & furuint en mer vne ſi eſpaiſſe brume, que nous n'y voyons

Honfleur on the 12th of March, 1613, and landed first at Cap de la Heve on the coast of Acadie, on the 16th of May, having consumed two entire months in the passage. At Cap de la Heve Mass was said, and a Cross erected, upon which was placed the coat of arms of Madame la Marquise de Guercheville, as a sign of having taken [217] possession of it in her name. Thence putting to sea again, they came to Port Royal.

At Port Royal they only found five persons; namely, the two Jesuits, their servant, the Apothecary Herbert[47], and another. Sieur de Biencourt and the rest of his people were all quite far away, some here, some there. Now because Hebert was taking the place of the sieur, they presented to him the Queen's letters, which contained the royal command to release the Jesuits and to let them go wherever they pleased; so the Jesuits took away their property in great peace. And on that day as well as on the following, they made it as pleasant for Hebert and his company as they could, so that this arrival would not be a cause of sadness to them. At their departure, (although they were not in need of anything) they left them a barrel of bread and some [218] bottles of wine, that the Farewell might be received with equally good grace.

Unfavorable winds kept us about five days at Port Royal, and then a propitious Northeaster arising, we departed, intending to go to the river Pentegoet, to the place called *Kadesquit*,[47] the site destined for the new colony, and having many great advantages for such a purpose. But God ordained otherwise. For when we were to the Southeast of the Island of Menauo,[48] the weather changed, and there came upon

non plus de iour que de nuict. Nous apprehendions grandement ce danger, pourtãt qu'en ceſt endroit y a beaucoup de briſants, & rochers, contre leſquels nous craignions de donner parmy les tenebres; le vent ne nous [219] permettant point de nous tirer hors, & nous mettre au large. Nous demeuraſmes en ceſte façõ deux iours & deux nuicts, virants tantoſt d'vn coſté, tantoſt de l'autre comme Dieu nous inſpiroit. L'affliction nous eſmeut de faire prieres & vœux à Dieu à ce qu'il luy pleuſt nous deliurer du peril, & nous adreſſer à quelque bon lieu pour ſa gloire. De ſa bonté il nous exauça, car au ſoir nous cõmençames à voir des eſtoiles, & auec le matin les brouëes ſe diſſiperent. Nous nous recogneuſmes eſtre au deuant des Monts deſerts, Iſle que les Sauuages appellent *Pemetiq*. Le Pilote adreſſa au coſté Oriental de l'Iſle, où il nous logea en vn beau, & grand port, & nous y rendiſmes nos vœus, eſleuants vne Croix, & chantans à Dieu ſes loüanges auec le ſacrifice de la ſaincte Meſſe. Nous appellaſmes [220] ce lieu & port Sainct Sauueur.

the sea such a dense fog that we could see no more by day than by night. We had serious misgivings in this time of danger, because in this place there are breakers and rocks, against which we were afraid of striking in the darkness; the wind not [219] permitting us to draw away and stand out to sea. We continued thus two days and two nights, veering now to one side, now to the other, as God inspired us. We were moved by our affliction to offer prayers and vows to God, that he might be pleased to deliver us from the danger, and direct us to some good place for his glory. In his goodness he hearkened to us, for when evening came on we began to see the stars, and by morning the fogs had all disappeared. We recognized that we were opposite Mount desert, an Island, which the Savages call *Pemetiq*.[49] The pilot turned to the Eastern shore of the Island, and there located us in a large and beautiful port, where we made our thanksgiving to God, raising a Cross and singing to God his praises with the sacrifice of the holy Mass. We called [220] this place and port Saint Sauveur.

CHAPITRE XXVI. [i.e., xxiv.]

A QUELLE OCCASION NOUS NOUS ARRESTAMES À SAINCT SAUUEUR, LA BONTÉ DU LIEU.

OR en ce Port icy de S. Sauueur grande contention s'eſleua entre les Matelots, & noſtre equipage ou nous autres paſſagers. La cauſe en eſtoit, parce que la charte partie, & l'accord paſſé en France portants, que leſdits Matelots ſeroyent tenus anchrer en vn Port de l'Acadie, que nous leur nommerions; & là ſeiourner l'eſpace de trois mois: Leſdits Matelots ſe maintenoyẽt eſtre arriués en vn Port de l'Acadie, & que partant ledit terme de trois mois deuoit courir dés ceſt'arriuée. On leur repliquoit [221] que le Port n'eſtoit point celuy qu'on leur auoit nommé *Kadeſquit*, & partant, que le temps ne courroit point auant qu'ils y fuſſent. Le Pilote s'opiniaſtroit là cõtre, maintenant, que iamais nauire n'eſtoit allé iuſques à *Kadeſquit*, & qu'il ne vouloit point ſe faire vn deſcouureur de nouuelles routes: il y auoit auſſi faute, au nom de l'Acadie, pour dire la Norambegue, ce qui augmentoit la diſpute: raiſons deçà, raiſons delà. Rien que plaidoyerie, mauuais augure de l'aduenir.

Sur ces conteſtes, des Sauuages nous firent de la fumée. Ce ſignal veut dire, qu'on les aille recognoiſtre, ſi on a beſoin d'eux, ce qu'on fit. Le Pilote par occaſion leur dit, que les Peres de Port Royal eſtoyent en ſon nauire. Les Sauuages repliquerent,

CHAPTER XXVI. [i.e., xxiv.]

WHY WE STAYED AT SAINT SAUVEUR; THE GOOD QUALITIES OF THE PLACE.

NOW here in this Port of St. Sauveur a great contention arose between the Sailors and our company, or us other passengers, because the charter party and contract, drawn up in France, stipulated that the Sailors should be held at anchor in a Port of Acadie, which we should name to them, and should remain there for the space of three months; the sailors maintained that they had arrived at a Port of Acadie, and that therefore the said term of three months should begin to run from the time of this arrival. It was explained to them [221] that the Port was not the one that had been designated to them by the name of *Kadesquit*, and therefore the time would not begin to be counted until they were there. The Pilot obstinately opposed this, maintaining that a ship had never gone as far as *Kadesquit*, and that he had no intention of becoming a discoverer of new routes; there was also some mistake about the name Acadie meaning Norambegue,[8] which strengthened the dispute; reasons here, reasons there; nothing but argument, a bad augury for the future.

During these quarrels, the Savages signaled to us with smoke. This means that we can go and find them if we need them, which we did. The Pilot incidentally remarked to these Savages that the Port Royal Fathers were in his ship. They answered

qu'ils verroyent bien volõtiers celuy qu'ils [222] auoyent cogneu y auoit deus ans, à Pentegoet. Ce cogneu, eſtoit le P. Biard qui les alla incontinent trouuer, & s'informãt d'eux touchant la route de *Kadeſquit*, leur ſignifia, qu'il s'y vouloit habituer. Mais (dirent-ils) ſi tu veux te loger en ces quartiers, que ne demeures tu pluſtoſt icy auecques nous, qui auons bien vne autant belle & bonne place que Kadeſquit? Et commencerent à luy raconter les loüanges de leur demeure, aſſeurants qu'elle eſtoit ſi ſaine, & ſi agreable, que quand les Sauuages ſont malades autrepart, ils ſe font porter en ce lieu, & y gueriſſent. Ces benedictions n'eſmouuoyent pas beaucoup le P. Biard, parce qu'il ſçauoit aſſez que les Sauuages ne manquoyẽt point de ce en quoy quaſi tout chacun abonde; c'eſt de ſçauoir priſer ſes denrées. Mais ils ſceurẽt [223] biẽ bander la machine pour l'enleuer. Car (dirent-ils) il faut que tu viennes: d'autant que Aſticou noſtre Sagamo eſt malade à la mort, & ſi tu ne viens il mourra ſans bapteſme, & n'ira pas au ciel. Tu en ſeras la cauſe, car pour luy il voudroit bien eſtre baptiſé. Ceſte raiſon ainſi naifuement deduicte, fit eſtonner le P. Biard, & luy perſuada totalement de s'y en aller, veu meſmes qu'il n'y auoit que trois lieuës à faire: & que pour tout il n'y entreuenoit pas plus grande perte de temps, que d'vne apres diſnée; ainſi il ſe mit dans vn de leurs cauots auec le ſieur de la Mote Lieutenant, & Simon l'interprete, & s'en allerent.

Arriués aux cabanes d'Aſticou, nous le trouuames malade voirement; mais non pas à mort, car ce n'eſtoit qu'vn rheume, qui le tourmentoit: partant l'aſſeurance de [224] ſes forces nous donna beau loiſir

that they would like very much to see the one with whom they [222] had become acquainted two years before at Pentegoet. This was Father Biard, who went immediately to see them, and in asking about the route to *Kadesquit*, said he wished to go there to live. "But" (said they) "if thou wishest to stay in these regions, why dost thou not rather remain here with us, who have truly as good and beautiful a place as Kadesquit?" And they began to sing the praises of their home, assuring him that it was so healthy, and so agreeable, that when the Savages are sick in other parts, they have themselves brought to this place and here recover. These blessings did not affect Father Biard much, for he knew that the Savages did not lack that with which almost every one is abundantly provided, namely, the ability to praise their own wares. But they knew [223] well how to use their machinations against him to carry him off. "For," (said they) "it is necessary that thou comest, since Asticou,[16] our Sagamore, is sick unto death; and if thou dost not come he will die without baptism, and will not go to heaven. Thou wilt be the cause of it, for he himself wishes very much to be baptized." This argument, so naïvely deduced, astonished Father Biard, and fully persuaded him to go there, especially as it was only three leagues away, and in all there would result no greater loss of time than one afternoon; so he got into one of their canoes with sieur de la Mote, Lieutenant, and Simon the interpreter, and went off.

When we arrived at Asticou's cabins, we found him truly sick, but not unto death, for it was only a cold that troubled him; so having assured ourselves of [224] his good condition, we had plenty of leisure to go

d'aller viſiter ce lieu tant vanté, & meilleur que Kadeſquit pour vn'habitation Françoiſe. Et de vraye nous ne trouuaſmes point, que les Sauuages euſſent eu mauuaiſe raiſon de le haut louër, car nous meſmes nous en eſmerueillions; & en ayants porté les nouuelles aux principaux de noſtre equipage : & eux encores l'eſtants venu recognoiſtre tous vnanimẽt conſentirent, qu'il falloit s'arreſter là, & ne point chercher mieux, veu meſmement, qu'il ſembloit que Dieu le nous diſoit par les heureux rencontres, qui nous eſtoyent arriués, & par vn euident miracle, qu'il fit en la gueriſon d'vn enfant, de laquelle nous parlerons autre-part.

Ce lieu, eſt vne iolie colline eſleuée doucement deſſus la mer, & baignée à ſes coſtés de deux [225] fontaines; la terre y eſt eſſartée à vingt, ou vingt & cinq arpẽs, herbuë en quelques endroits preſque à la hauteur d'vn homme. Son aſpect eſt au Midy & Orient, quaſi à l'emboucheure de Pentegoet, & où ſe deſchargẽt pluſieurs agreables, commodes, & poiſſonneuſes riuieres, le terroir y eſt noir, gras, & fertile; Le Port & Haure ſont des plus beaux, qu'on puiſſe voir, & en endroit propre pour commander à toute la coſte; le Haure ſpecialement eſt aſſeuré comm'vn eſtang. Car outre qu'il eſt reparé de la grande Iſle des Mõts deſerts, il l'eſt encores de certaines petites Iſlettes, qui rompent les flots & les vents, & fortifient ſon entrée. Il n'y a flotte, de laquelle il ne ſoit capable, ny ſi haut nauire, qui ne puiſſe s'approcher de terre pour deſcharger, iuſques à la longueur d'vn chable. Sa ſituation [226] eſt à quarante quatre degrés, & vn tiers d'eleuation; poſition moins encores boreale, que celle de Bourdeaux.

and visit this place, so greatly boasted about and so much better for a French settlement than Kadesquit. And in truth we found that the Savages were not wrong in praising it so highly, for we ourselves were wonderfully astonished; and having carried the news to the chiefs of our company, and they having come to view the place, all unanimously agreed that we ought to stay there and not look for anything better, especially as it seemed as if God told us to do so through the fortunate events which had happened to us, and through an evident miracle which he performed in the restoration of a child, of which we shall speak elsewhere.

This place is a beautiful hill, rising gently from the sea, its sides bathed by two [225] springs; the land is cleared for twenty or twenty-five acres, and in some places is covered with grass almost as high as a man. It faces the South and East, and is near the mouth of the Pentegoet, where several broad and pleasant rivers, which abound in fish, discharge their waters; its soil is dark, rich and fertile; the Port and Harbor are as fine as can be seen, and are in a position favorable to command the entire coast; the Harbor especially is as safe as a pond. For, besides being strengthened by the great Island of Mount desert, it is still more protected by certain small Islands which break the currents and the winds, and fortify the entrance. There is not a fleet which it is not capable of sheltering, nor a ship so deep that could not approach within a cable's length of the shore to unload. It is situated [226] in latitude forty-four and one-third degrees, a position still less northerly than that of Bourdeaux.

Now having landed at this place and planted here

Or eſtants deſcendus en ce dit lieu, & y ayans planté la Croix, nous commençames à trauailler, & auec le trauail commencerent auſſi nos conteſtations, ſecond ſignal, & prodige de nos mal-heurs. La cauſe de ces conteſtations eſtoit d'autãt que la Sauſſaye, noſtre Capitaine, s'amuſoit trop à cultiuer la terre, & tous les principaux le preſſoyent de ne point diſtraire en cela les ouuriers, ains de vacquer ſans reſpit aux alogement & fortification, ce qu'il ne vouloit pas faire. De ceſte cõtention en ſourdirent des autres iuſques à ce que l'Anglois nous mit treſtous de bon accord, ainſi que vous ouyrez tout maintenant.

the Cross, we began to work; and with the beginning of work also began the quarrels, a second sign and augury of our ill luck. The cause of these dissensions was principally that la Saussaye, our Captain, amused himself too much in cultivating the land, while all the chiefs of the enterprise were urging him not to employ the laborers for that purpose, but to get to work without delay upon the houses and fortifications, which he did not wish to do. From these disputes sprang others, until the English brought us all to an understanding with each other, as you will hear immediately.

CHAPITRE XXVII. [i.e., xxv.]

[227] NOSTRE PRINSE PAR LES ANGLOIS.

LA Virginie eſt le continent de terre, que les anciens appelloyent, *Mocoſa*. entre la Floride, & la nouuelle France ſur les 36. 37. & 38. degrez d'eleuation. Ce païs auoit premierement eſté deſcouuert, & ſaiſi par Iean Verazan au nom de François premier (ainſi que nous auons dit cy deuant) mais les Anglois l'ayants recognu deſpuis, ſçauoir eſt l'an 1593. & 1594. en fin l'a sõt venus habiter, deſpuis ſeulement ſept, ou huict ans. Leur demeure principale, qu'ils appellent Ieutom, eſt diſtante de S. Sauueur où nous nous eſtions logez d'enuiron 250. lieües par droictes routes Regardez [228] s'ils ont bien dequoy nous quereller.

Or ces Anglois de la Virginie ont accouſtumé tous les ans de venir aux Iſles de Peucoit, qui ſont à 25. lieües de nostre S. Sauueur, à celle fin de ſe pourueoir de mouluës pour leur hyuer. S'y acheminants doncques ſelon ceſte couſtume en l'Eſté de l'année de laquelle nous parlons 1613. aduint qu'en mer ils furent ſurprins des brumes, & broüillas, que nous auons dit cy deuant, s'eſpandre ſouuent l'Eſté ſur ces terres & mer. Pendant qu'elles durerent quelques iours, la marée les ietta inſenſiblement beaucoup plus loin au Nordeſt, qu'ils n'euſſent penſé. Car ils eſtoyent bien quatre vintgs lieües plus auãt dans la nouuelle France, qu'ils ne croyoyent, au pres de

CHAPTER XXVII. [i.e. xxv.]

[227] OUR CAPTURE BY THE ENGLISH.

VIRGINIA is that continent which our forefathers called *Mocosa*, between Florida and new France under the 36th, 37th, and 38th parallels of north latitude. This country was first discovered and taken possession of by Jean Verazan in the name of Francis first (as we have said before); but the English, having explored it since then; namely, in the years 1593 and 1594, finally came there to inhabit it only seven or eight years ago. Their principal settlement, which they call Jeutom [Jamestown] is distant from St. Sauveur, where we were located, about 250 leagues in a direct line. Judge [228] if they have any good reason for quarreling with us.

Now these English of Virginia are accustomed every year to come to the Peucoit Islands,[50] which are 25 leagues from our St. Sauveur, to lay in a supply of codfish for the winter. They were making for this place, as usual, in the Summer of the year of which we are speaking, 1613, when they happened to be caught in the fogs and drizzling rains which, as has been stated, often spread over these lands and seas during the summer. In the few days that they continued, the current imperceptibly cast them much farther to the Northeast than they thought. For they were fully eighty leagues nearer to new France than they supposed, being in the neighborhood of our port. But not recognizing the place, [229] un-

noſtre port. Mais ne ſe cognoiſſants point au lieu, à [229] la mal'heure quelques Sauuages paſſerent par là, qui les allerent trouuer cuidants que ce fuſſent François, qui nous cherchaſſent. les Anglois n'entendoyent rien en Sauuage: mais aux geſtes, & façons de faire ils recogneurent aſſez qu'on leur faiſoit ſigne, qu'il y auoit vn vaiſſeau là aupres, & qu'iceluy vaiſſeau eſtoit François, car ils entendoyẽt le mot de Normandia, duquel il nous appellent: & aux ceremonies, que les Sauuages faiſoyent pour leur complaire, ils recognoiſſent, que c'eſtoyent ceremonies de courtoiſie, & ciuilité Françoiſe. Doncques les Anglois, qui eſtoyẽt en neceſſité, & de viures, & de tout; deſchirez, demy-nuds & ne queſtans que proye; s'enquirent diligemment combien grand eſtoit noſtre vaiſſeau, combien nous auions de Canons, combien de gens, &c. [230] Et ayants eu reſponſe ſuffiſante, & qui leur plaiſoit, firent vn cry ioyeux demonſtrants, que c'eſtoit bien ce qu'ils cherchoyent, & qu'on les menaſt à nous: car ils ne deſiroyent autre. Auſſi ne faiſoyent-ils, mais ce n'eſtoit pas en la façon, que les Sauuages l'entendoyent; car les Sauuages eſtimoyent que ce fuſſent aucuns de nos bons amis, eſtants en grande peine de nous: & qui d'amitié deſiraſſent ſur tout de nous voir. Par ainſi vn d'entre eux demeura dans leur nauire pour les conduire à nous; ce qu'il fit le bon vent venu. L'Anglois dés qu'il nous deſcouurit commença à ſe preparer au combat, & ce fut lors que le bon homme de Sauuage recogneuſt, qu'il auoit eſté trompé, dont il ſe print à plourer & lamenter ſa faute, & maudire ceux qui l'auoyent ainſi deçeu. Souuent [231] deſpuis il a plouré, & demandé pardon de ceſte ſienne deſaduenture, & à nous & aux

fortunately some Savages passed that way, who went to see them, supposing they were French people looking for us. The English understood nothing of the Savage language, but from their gestures and actions they easily gathered that they were trying to make them understand that a vessel was near by, and it was a French vessel, for they heard the word "Normandia," the name by which we were called: and the acts of courtesy which the Savages performed to please them, they recognized as French ceremonies of civility and politeness. Therefore the English, who were in need of food and all other things, ragged and half-naked, seeking nothing but booty, inquired diligently as to the size of our ship, how many Cannon we had, how many men, etc. [230] Having received full and satisfactory answers, they uttered a joyful shout, indicating that this was just what they had been looking for, and that they might lead them to us, for they desired nothing better. Nor were they pretending, but it was not in this way that the Savages understood the matter; for they thought that these were some good friends of ours, who were in great anxiety about us, and who, through friendship, wished to see us above all other things. Hence one of them remained in their ship to conduct them thither; this he did, a favorable wind having arisen. The English, when they discovered us, began to prepare themselves for the fight, and it was then that the poor simple Savage recognized that he had been imposed upon, when he began to weep and to deplore his mistake, and to curse those who had thus deceived him. Often [231] since then he has lamented and begged forgiveness for his misadventure, both from us and from the other Savages; for they wished to

autres Sauuages; parce que les autres Sauuages vouloyent venger noſtre mal'heur ſur luy, penſants que de malice il en euſt eſté la cauſe.

Or nous, conſiderants ce nauire venir ainſi de loin à pleines voyles, ne ſçauions que penſer, ſi c'eſtoyent amis, ou ennemis, François ou eſtrangiers. A ceſte cauſe le Pilote s'en alla au deuant dans vne chaloupe pour les recognoiſtre, tandis que les autres s'armoyent. La Sauſſaye demeura à terre & y retint la pluſpart des hommes: la Mote Lieutenant, Ronferé Enſeigne, & Ioubert Sergent, & tous les plus deliberez allerent au nauire. Auſſi eſtoit-ce là où lon deuoit recognoiſtre les gens de bien.

[232] Le nauire Anglois venoit plus viſte qu'vn dard, ayant le vent à ſouhait, tout pauis de rouge, les pauillons d'Angleterre flottans, & trois t[r]ompettes & deux tambours faiſants rage de ſonner. Noſtre pilote, qui eſtoit allé deſcouurir ne reuint point à ſon nauire, parce (dit-il) que les Anglois auoyent le vent ſur luy, & partant pour ne tomber en leurs mains, il s'en alla prendre le circuit d'vne Iſle. Tant y a qu'à ceſte occaſion le nauire ſe trouua deſtitué de la moitié de ſes Matelots, & n'auoit autres gens de defenſe que dix en tout, encores n'y en auoit-il aucun de tous qui fuſt entendu aux combats de mer, hors le Capitaine Flory, qui de vray ne manqua ny de conduicte ny de courage. Mais il n'auoit ny aſſez de temps pour ſe preparer, ny des gens, à cauſe dequoy il ne peut leuer l'anchre pour ſe [233] deſengager: ce qu'eſt toutesfois la premiere choſe qu'on doit faire és combats de la mer, combien qu'auſſi en vain euſt-on leué l'anchre, conſideré que les voyles eſtoyent empeſtrees. Car à cauſe que c'eſtoit l'Eſté, & qu'on ſeiournoit au port

take revenge upon him for our misfortune, thinking he had been the malicious cause of it.

Now we, gazing upon this ship bearing down upon us thus from afar off, with full sails, did not know what to think, whether they were friends or foes, French or strangers. Whereupon the Pilot went out in a boat on a tour of discovery, while the others armed themselves. La Saussaye remained on shore and there kept the greater part of the men: Lieutenant la Mote, Ensign Ronseré, Sergeant Joubert, and all the more resolute men went to the ship. For it was there that the good men ought to be found.

[232] The English ship came on swifter than an arrow, driven by a propitious wind, all screened in pavesade[51] of red, the banners of England flying, and three trumpets and two drums making a horrible din. Our pilot, who had gone out reconnoitering, did not return to his ship, because (said he) the English had the wind of him, and therefore, not to fall into their hands, he started to go round an Island. At all events the ship was now deprived of half its Sailors, and had only ten men altogether to defend it; and of these there were none who understood naval warfare except Captain Flory, who certainly lacked neither courage nor the ability to command. But he had not time enough to prepare, nor the men, hence he could not heave the anchor to [233] free the boat; which is, however, the first thing to be done in a battle at sea. But how useless would it have been to heave anchor, when the sails were all disarranged. For as it was Summer, and, as the vessel was lying in port without apprehension of danger, they had stretched their sails in the form of a cradle from Stern to bitts, to shade the deck, hence they could

ſans crainte, on les auoit tendues en forme de berceau dés la Dunette iuſques à la bite pour auoir ombre ſur le tillac, d'où lon ne pouuoit les deffaire en ſi peu de temps Mais ce malheur euſt fort bonne chance: car à ceſte occaſion nos gents demeurerent fort bien couuerts pendant le combat, de maniere que les Anglois n'en pouuants choiſir aucun durant leur eſcopeterie, moins de gents furent ou tuez, ou bleſſez.

A l'approche, comme c'est la couſtume de ſommer, à dire, qui l'on eſt: Nos gens crierent à la [234] Marineſque leur O O. Mais l'Anglois ne reſpondit en ce ton, ains d'vn autre plus furieux, à grands coups de moſquet, & de canon. Il auoit quatorze pieces d'artillerie, & ſoixante ſoldats moſquetaires duits au nauigage, &c. venants à la charge ſur les coſtez, ſur le beau pré, à la dunette & où il falloit, à la file, & en ordre, auſſi bien que gens de pied font ſur terre.

La premiere eſcopeterie fut terrible du coſté de l'Anglois; tout le nauire eſtoit en feu, & en fumée. De noſtre part on reſpõdoit froidement, & l'artillerie eſtoit du tout muette. Le Capitaine Flory crioit bien laſche le canon, laſche; mais le Canonier n'y eſtoit pas. Or Gilbert du Thet, qui de ſa vie n'auoit eſté paoureux, ny coüart, ouyant ce cry, & ne voyant perſonne, qui obeiſt, print la meſche & nous fit parler auſſi haut que [235] l'ennemy. Le mal fut qu'il ne mira pas, que s'il l'euſt faict, peut-eſtre y euſt-il eu quelque choſe de pis, que le bruit.

L'Anglois apres ceſte premiere, & furieuſe eſcopeterie mit ſon nauire de coſté, & tenoit vn Anchre preparé pour accrocher noſtre bite. Le Capitaine Flory fila du chable fort à propos, ce qui arreſta l'ennemy, & luy fit tourner à coſté: car il euſt peur

not be undone in so short a time. But this proved to be quite a lucky mischance: for in this way our people were well shielded during the fight, so that the English were not able to pick out any particular one for their musket shots, and fewer men were killed or wounded.

At their approach, as it is usual to call upon them to say who they are, our people called out in [234] sailor-fashion their "O O." But the English did not respond in this tone, but in another far more violent — with loud volleys from musket and cannon. They had fourteen pieces of artillery and sixty musketeers, trained to serve on ships, etc., and came to attack us upon the flanks, in front, behind, and wherever there was need, in regular order, as well as foot soldiers do on land.

The first volley from the English was terrible, the whole ship being enveloped in fire and smoke. On our side they responded coldly, and the artillery was altogether silent. Captain Flory cried, "Fire the cannon, fire," but the Cannoneer was not there. Now Gilbert du Thet, who in all his life had never felt fear or shown himself a coward, hearing this command and seeing no one obey it, took a match and made us speak as loudly as [235] the enemy. Unfortunately, he did not take aim; if he had, perhaps there might have been something worse than mere noise.

The English, after this first and furious volley, came alongside of us, and held an Anchor ready to grapple our bitts. Captain Flory very opportunely paid out more cable, which stopped the enemy and made them turn away, for they were afraid if they pursued us we would draw them into shallow water;

qu'en pourſuiuant on ne le vouluſt attirer ſur des baſſes; deſpuis voyant noſtre nauire à requoy, & s'eſtant raſſeuré, il recommença les approches auec eſcopeterie comme deuant. Ce fut en ceſte ſeconde charge, que Gilbert du Thet reçeut vn coup de moſquet dans le corps & tomba eſtendu à l'enuers ſur le tillac. Le Capitaine Flory fut auſſi bleſsé au pied, & autres trois autre part, ce qui fit faire ſigne, & [236] crier qu'on ſe rendoit. Auſſi certes la partie n'eſtoit pas egale. A ce cry, l'Anglois ſe ietta dans ſon bateau pour venir à noſtre nauire. Nos gents auſſi par mauuais conſeil, ſe ietterent dans le leur, pour faire à terre: car ils craignoyent l'arriuée du victorieux. Le vainqueur fut pluſtoſt dans noſtre nauire, qu'eux ne furent loin, & partant il ſe print à leur crier, qu'ils retournaſſent, & pour les y contraindre tiroit ſur eux. Dequoy eſpouuãtez deux de nos gẽs ſe ietterent dans l'eau pour à mõ aduis gaigner terre à la nage, mais ils furent noyez, ſoit que ja ils euſſent eſté bleſſez, ſoit (ce qui eſt plus vray ſemblable) qu'ils fuſſent attaints, & percez dans l'eau. C'eſtoyent deux ieunes compagnons de bonne expectation, l'vn de Dieppe, appellé le Moyne, l'autre dit Nepueu, de la ville de [237] Beauuais: leurs corps ne comparurent que neuf iours apres. On euſt moyen de les prendre & religieuſement les enterrer: telle fut la prinſe de noſtre nauire.

then seeing our vessel fall back, and thus being reassured, they again began to approach us, firing off the muskets as before. It was during this second charge that Gilbert du Thet received a musket shot in his body and fell stretched out across the deck. Captain Flory was also wounded in the foot, and three others in other places, which made them signal and [236] cry out that we surrendered, for it was evidently a very unequal match. At this cry the English jumped into their boat to come to our ship. Our men also, misled by bad advice, jumped into theirs with the hope of gaining the shore, for they feared the arrival of the victors. These, however, reached the ship before our men could get away from it, and so they began to yell to them to come back, and, to enforce the order, fired upon them. Frightened at this, two of our men threw themselves into the sea, in order, I believe, to swim to the shore; but they were drowned, either because they were already wounded, or (what seems more probable) because they were struck and wounded in the water. These were two very promising young fellows, one from Dieppe, called le Moyne, the other named Nepveu, of the town of [237] Beauvais; their bodies did not appear until nine days later, when means were found to recover them and they were given a religious burial. Such was the capture of our ship.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA: VOL. III

XIII

The original Latin MS. of Biard's letter to his general, dated at Amiens, May 26, 1614, is in the archives of the Gesù, at Rome. In 1858, Father Martin there copied this document, with others of like character; and in the present publication we follow his apograph, which is now preserved in the archives of St. Mary's College, Montreal. Martin's translation of the letter into French appears in Carayon's *Première Mission*, pp. 106–116.

See Bibliographical Data in Volume I. of the present series, for particulars of Carayon's collection. The originals of the letters in Carayon, were written in three different languages: nos. 2, 5, 9, 12, 18, 25, 27–31, were in French; nos. 13, 14, 15, 16, in Italian; and the others in Latin. Letters to the general in Rome were for the most part in Italian or Latin, but those to the provincial in Paris were in French. The Italian and Latin letters were translated for Carayon, into French, in most cases by Martin, who had copied them for that publication. In our series, we have followed the printed pages of Carayon, for the French letters; but for the Italians and Latins (except Documents III., V., and VI., in Volume I.), have reverted for our copy to Martin's own apographs, at Montreal, and our translations into English are made directly from these.

XIV

We reprint Biard's *Relation* of 1616 directly from

the printed original in Lenox Library. The Lenox copy has no original title-page, its place being supplied by a clever facsimile in pen-and-ink, said to be by Pilinski. For the present edition, we supply a photographic facsimile of the original title-page of the copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale (formerly Bibliothèque Royale), Paris; the plate shows the old library stamp, "Biblioteque Royale." The Paris copy is the only one known to us, at this writing, which has an original title-page.

O'Callaghan issued a special reprint, "presque en facsimile," of this *Relation* (Albany, 1871), the edition being limited to 25 copies, at $25 a copy.

The Lenox Catalogue (p. 4), says that O'Callaghan followed the copy owned by Rufus King, of Jamaica, L. I. The whereabouts of this copy is unknown to us. The late Charles H. Kalbfleisch, of New York, at one time had a copy; but a letter to us from his son, Charles C., dated May 11, 1896, states that he does not know its present location. In the announcement of his facsimile, O'Callaghan said (see Murphy's Sale Catalogue, 1884, p. 33):

"The owner of, we believe, the only copy in this country of the original edition of this *Relation*, has obligingly loaned it to me. In order to enable collectors who possess some of the Jesuit Relations to place at least beside these an exact reprint of this extremely rare volume, I have undertaken a small edition, reproducing the original, page for page, line for line.

"The edition in the Collected Relations, published at Quebec, was printed from a transcript made from the only other known copy in the National Library at Paris. This transcript was to all appearances hastily and carelessly executed. The consequence is, that the Quebec edition abounds, as a minute collation proves, with grave errors of omission and alteration.

"The present reprint will be limited to twenty-five copies, and will be supplied, in sheets, to subscribers at $25 a copy."

The Lenox copy is marked on front fly leaf, "A

very rare book," and it is understood that it cost 1,000 francs, notwithstanding its pen-and-ink title-page. In the "Privilege," on the last page, the syllable "pro" has been accidentally omitted. O'Callaghan's facsimile reprint supplies this omission. In both, the "privilege" is in ten lines, but the contents of the lines differ.

Harrisse says (no. 30), concerning Biard's *Relation* of 1616: "Some bibliographers cite, but without having seen, a relation published at Lyons in 1612, and which was the first edition of the one we have just described; but that is hardly possible, since the events described in that relation extend up to the year 1614. As for the relations, the titles of which are given in Latin, we think that they are the letters addressed by Father Biard [given in Volumes I. and II. of this series]. That of January 31, 1611 [1612], was published in the *Annuæ Litteræ Societatis Jesu*, printed at Lyons by Claude Cayne, but not till 1618. It is probably the same of which Jouvency gives the text in his *Histoire de la Société de Jésus*. Sotwell also cites [*Bibliotheca Script. Soc. Jesu*], a *Relatio Expeditionis Anglorum in Canadam*, of Father Biard, which is probably the letter which Father Biard wrote to Father Claude Aquaviva regarding the act of piracy committed upon him by Argall. It is possible that there were, at that period, publications of these letters both in Latin and French; but we have been able to find only one instance of this." Brunet's *Supplément* says the alleged 1612 edition of the *Nouvelle France* is spurious. All of the foregoing letters by Biard, cited by Harrisse, are given in Volumes I. and II. of the present series.

See other references in Brown's *Genesis of the United*

States (Boston, 1890), vol. ii., p. 707; Leclerc, no. 2482; Sabin, vol. ii., no. 5136; Ternaux, no. 380; Lenox, p. 4; Winsor, p. 300; Brown, vol. ii., no. 178; and the Barlow (no. 251) and Murphy (no. 244) sale catalogues. Leclerc describes the Lenox copy; most of the others, the O'Callaghan facsimile reprint.

Title-page. Photographic facsimile, from original in Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Collation of Lenox copy. Title, 1 p.; blank, reverse of title, 1 p.; dedication "Av Roy," 3 unnumbered pp.; Avant-Propos, 7 unnumbered pp.; text, pp. 1–338. Table, 34 unnumbered pp.; privilege, 1 p.

Peculiarities. Only the pages of the text are numbered; p. 191 is, from typographical error, wrongly numbered 181. The numbering of the chapters is erratic. From i. to x. they are correctly numbered, but thereafter the variations are as follows:

CHAP.			CHAP.	CHAP.			CHAP.
xi.,	incorrectly	numbered	xii.	xxv.,	incorrectly	numbered	xxvii.
xii.,	"	"	xiii.	xxvi.,	"	"	xxviii.
xiii.,	"	"	xiv.	xxvii.,	"	"	xxix.
xiv.,	"	"	xv.	xxviii.,	"	"	xxx.
xv.,	"	"	xvi.	xxix.,	"	"	xxxii.
xvi.,	"	"	xvii.	xxx.,	"	"	xxxi.
xvii.,	"	"	xviii.	xxxi.,	"	"	xxxii.
xviii.,	"	"	xxi.	xxxii.,	correctly	"	xxxii.
xix.,	"	"	xx.	xxxiii.,	incorrectly	"	xxxiv.
xx..	"	"	xxi.	xxxiv.,	"	"	xxxv.
xxi.,	"	"	xxiii.	xxxv.,	"	"	xxxvi.
xxii.,	"	"	xxiv.	xxxvi.,	"	"	xxxvii.
xxiii.,	"	"	xxv.	xxxvii.,	"	"	xxxviii.
xxiv.,	"	"	xxvi.				

The editor of the Quebec reprint overcame the difficulty without explanation, by correcting the enumeration throughout. O'Callaghan, without comment, corrects numbering of p. 191, in his facsimile, but follows original in numbering the chapters.

Owing to the length of this document, we give only the first twenty-five chapters thereof, in the present volume; the others will appear in Volume IV.

NOTES TO VOL. III

(Figures in parentheses, following number of note, refer to pages of English text.)

1 (p. 39).— See vol. ii., *note* 72.

2 (p. 39).— *Ocean of Guienne:* one of many names applied to the Atlantic Ocean. The Catalan Mappemonde (1375) names it Mare Ochceanum; Fra Mauro's "World" (1439), Oceanus Athlanticus; Ptolemy's map (ed. 1482), Oceanus Occidentalis; Hondius's (1595), Mar del Nort. Cf. H. H. Bancroft's *Central America*, vol. i., p. 373.

3 (p. 39).— Ferland says (*Cours d'Histoire*, vol. i., pp. 11–13) of Aubert that in 1508 "he visited the Gulf of St. Lawrence; if we may believe the Dieppe chronicles, he ascended the river eighty leagues above its mouth, and brought to France a Canadian savage."— Cf. vol. i., *note* 7. He also cites these Dieppe historians as declaring that Verrazano was commander of one of the two ships with which Aubert made the above voyage. The ship commanded by Aubert himself was named "La Pensée," and belonged, according to the "Gran Capitano" (*Ramusio*, iii., 359), to "Jean Ango, father of Captain Ango, and viscount of Dieppe."

4 (p. 39).— Denys is said by many writers to have made a chart of the St. Lawrence; but this is now seriously questioned. Dexter (in Winsor's *N. and C. Hist.*, vol. iv., p. 4) says: "What now passes for such a chart is clearly of later origin." Harrisse says (*Jean et Sébastien Cabot*, pp. 250, 251) that it could not be found at Paris; and that the chart in the Library of Parliament at Ottawa, purporting to be a copy of Denys's, is "utterly apocryphal;" he also states (*Discov. N. Amer.*, p. 181), that researches in the archives of Honfleur have proved fruitless for any information as to the expedition of Denys. Some information concerning his family is given by Bréard, cited by Dionne (*Nouv. France*, p. 107, *note* 3).

5 (p. 41).— Giovanni da Verrazano: probably born at Florence, Italy, soon after 1480. He was apparently a corsair in French employ, by the year 1521, harassing the commerce of Spain with the New World; while thus engaged, he assumed the name of Juan Florin, or Florentin. Under commission from Francis I. of France, he made a voyage during the first half of the year 1524 (not 1523),

"to discover a western passage to Cathay." In the "Dauphine," with a crew of fifty men, he explored the Atlantic coast from about 27° to 43° north latitude (that is, from Florida to Maine); then sailed to "the country already discovered by the Bretons," thence returning to France. His letter to the court, announcing his safe arrival at Dieppe, was published by Ramusio, in vol. iii. of his *Raccolta* (1556). A translation of this letter (with a note by Edwin D. Mead, the editor), is given in *Old South Leaflets*, general series, no. 17. Little is known of Verrazano's subsequent history; but it is generally supposed that he was hanged as a pirate, at Cadiz, Spain, in November, 1527.— See Dexter, in Winsor's *N. and C. Hist.*, vol. iv., pp. 5–9; and Margry's *Navig. Fr.* pp. 194–196, 205–218. H. C. Murphy (*Voyages of Verrazano*, N. Y., 1875), and others, have doubted whether Verrazano ever made this voyage; Harrisse gives an exhaustive discussion of the whole matter in his *Discov. N. Amer.*, pp. 214–228, as does Winsor, in *N. and C. Hist.*, vol. iv., pp. 16–27. The discoveries of Verrazano are shown on a mappa-mundi, made in 1529 by his brother Hieronimo; this is fully described by Winsor, in above citation.

6 (p. 41).—See vol. ii., *note* 48.

7 (p. 41).—This chart is probably the one mentioned by Biard in doc. x.; see vol. ii., *note* 12.

8 (p. 41).— On Norembega, see vol. i., *note* 11.— Cf. Dionne's *Nouv. France*, pp. 257–263. Biard himself uses this term (*post*) to designate the region wherein lay St. Sauveur.

The name Acadia (see vol. i., *note* 2) was in general use up to the downfall of the French régime (1763).

9 (p. 41).— The first of these attempts at colonization was inspired by the explorations of Jacques Cartier (who, according to Harrisse, was born at St. Malo, December 31, 1494; died September 1, 1557). Having obtained letters patent from Francis I., he sailed to Canada in April, 1534, with two ships, and explored the coasts of Newfoundland, Labrador, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but did not enter the great river. On his second voyage, however (1535), he explored the St. Lawrence, Saguenay, and St. Charles, and ascended as far as Hochelaga, on the island of Montreal. Building a fort near Quebec, he spent the winter there, losing many of his men through sickness, and returned to France in July, 1536. A list of the ship's company on this voyage, taken from an old register of St. Malo, is given by Ramé in his *Documents Inédits sur Jacques Cartier* (Paris, 1865), pp. 10–12. Cartier's third voyage was made in 1541, as master-pilot of an expedition undertaken by Jean François de la Roque, Sieur de Roberval (a town near Boulogne), whom the king had appointed lieutenant and governor of Canada. (For

the latter's commission, with other documents concerning him, see Harrisse's *Notes*, pp. 243–247.) Cartier sailed several months earlier than his patron, whose preparations were not completed; again ascended the St. Lawrence, and again spent the winter in that region,— this time about four leagues above Quebec. Meanwhile, Roberval carried from France some 200 persons, including a few adventurous gentlemen, but largely recruited from the condemned criminals of Paris, Toulouse, and other cities, both men and women. According to Gosselin (cited by Dionne, *Nouv. France*, p. 25, *note* 3), there were among them, also, fifty from St. Malo, convicted of heresy and lèse-majesté. With this motley throng, he established a residence at Cartier's abandoned fort, below Quebec, and spent the ensuing winter there, many of the people dying from famine and scurvy. It is uncertain whether Cartier was with him during any part of this sojourn; but the former seems to have returned to France in 1542; some writers claim that this action resulted from a quarrel between him and Roberval. In 1543, however, Cartier went, by command of the king, to rescue Roberval and what remained of his unfortunate colony.— See Harrisse's *Notes*, pp. 1–5, 11, 12; Faillon's *Col. Fr.*, vol. i., pp. 38–55, 496–523; Winsor's *N. and C. Hist.*, vol. iv., pp. 56–59; and Dionne's *Nouv. France*, pp. 9–54.

The next enterprise of this sort was attempted in 1598, by a nobleman, Troïlus de Mesgouez, marquis de la Roche, etc.; governor of Morlaix from 1568 to 1586, afterwards of St. Lô. Lescarbot gives, in his *Nouv. France* (1612), pp. 422–429, La Roche's commission from Henry IV. Gathering from the prisons a shipload of convicts, as material for a colony, and landing them temporarily on Sable Island (see vol. ii., *note* 20), he was driven thence by a storm, and forced to return to France. Broken by misfortunes, he died in 1606.— See Faillon's *Col. Fr.*, vol. i., pp. 66–71; Dionne's *Nouv. France*, pp. 151–189, 299–310; and Harrisse's *Notes*, pp. 12–14. Ferland (*Cours d'Histoire*, vol. i., pp. 60, 61) argues that La Roche's voyage was made in 1578, or soon afterward.

No other colonial enterprises seem to have been actually undertaken until those of Champlain.

10 (p. 47).— Now Cornouaille; a district, then a part of Lower Brittany; also the name of a port near Quimper.

11 (p. 47).— Now Fuenterrabia, in the province of Guipuzcoa, Spain, close to the French boundary-line; noted for its strong fortress (until 1494), and for Wellington's passage here of the Bidassoa (1813).

12 (p. 57).— Sir Francis Drake, one of England's most renowned navigators and explorers; named "the Dragon" (by a play upon

his name), in Spanish annals of the time, on account of his fiery and merciless attacks upon the commerce and colonies of Spain. He was a native of Devonshire, England, probably born about 1540; and became a sailor in his boyhood. After several voyages to foreign lands, he commanded one of Sir John Hawkins's ships (the "Judith"), on a voyage to the West Indies, in 1567–68; and from this time until his death was actively engaged in navigation, in war, or in the public service. His most famous voyage is that around the world (December, 1577–September, 1580), in which he discovered (March–July, 1579), the coasts of California and Oregon, of which he took possession in the name of England — a claim never advanced, however, by the English crown. To this country he gave the name of New Albion, which for some time was applied by cartographers to the present Oregon; it is shown on Lady Virginia Ferrer's map (London, 1651). Another notable voyage was that to America (September, 1585–July, 1586), in which Drake, under royal commission, ravaged the Spanish main, taking many towns and much treasure. While on a voyage with Hawkins, he died (January 28, 1596), and was buried at sea.

The reference in the text is to a passage in the narration of Francis Fletcher, Drake's chaplain, *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (London, 1628): "*June* 3, we came into 42 deg. of North latitude, where in the night following we found such alteration of heate, into extreame and nipping cold, that our men in generall did grieuously complaine thereof, some of them feeling their healths much impaired thereby; . . . the next day . . . the very roapes of our ship were stiffe, and the raine which fell was an vnnatural congealed and frozen substance. . . . In 38 deg. 30 min. we fell with a conuenient and fit harborough, and *June* 17 came to anchor therein, where we continued till the 23 day of July following. During all which time, notwithstanding it was in the height of summer, and so neere the sunne, yet were wee continually visited with like nipping colds as we had felt before." This was the experience of the English (according to Fletcher, though his veracity is questioned by some writers), while sailing along the western coast of North America, from the region of Cape Blanco to Cape Mendocino.— See Hakluyt Society reprint of *The World Encompassed* (London, 1854), pp. 113–118. Cf. H. H. Bancroft's *History of the Northwest Coast* (San Francisco, 1886), vol. i., pp. 139–145.

Drake's aim in this voyage was to find a northern passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Such a passage was supposed to exist, and was termed "the Straits of Anian:" Cortereal having found, as he imagined, its eastern end in Hudson's Straits. This supposed passage across the continent is shown on Zaltieri's map (1566),

Mercator's (1569), Porcacchi's (1572), Furlano's (1574), and others. For various theories as to the origin of the name Anian, see Bancroft, *ut supra*, vol. i., pp. 53–56.

13 (p. 57).— On some early charts was shown an imaginary lake, Conibas,— its waters flowing through a river or strait into the great Northern sea, as in the Wytfleit-Ptolemy map (1597); or into the mythical "Straits of Anian," as in Judæis's map (1593), and Löw's (1598). On Wytfleit's map is shown, within the lake, an island and town of the same name. See Bancroft's *N. W. Coast*, vol. i., pp. 84–85; and Winsor's *N. and C. Hist.* vol. ii., p. 457. Bancroft thinks that the notion of the lake was "probably owing to Canadian aboriginal rumors," doubtless of Hudson Bay.

14 (p. 67).— The white cedar (a name commonly given to the arbor-vitæ, *Thuya occidentalis*) is found in abundance along the Atlantic slope. The red cedar (*Juniperus Virginiana*) is abundant from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico; its odor is offensive to most insects. It is probably the tree thus referred to by Sagard (*Canada*, p. 783): "In the forests [of the Huron country] are seen abundance of cedars; the odor of this tree is disliked by serpents, and on this account its branches are used by the savages for their beds, when on their journeys."

15 (p. 69).— Champlain's statement, here referred to, is in his *Voyages* (Prince Soc.), vol. ii., p. 16: "From Long Island passage we sailed north-east two leagues, when we found a cove where vessels can anchor with safety [Little River, on Digby Neck, St. Mary's Bay]. . . . In this place there is a very good silver mine, according to the report of the miner, Master Simon, who accompanied me." He adds: "Quarter of a league from here [the place now known as Sandy Cove] there is a good harbor for vessels, where we found an iron mine, which our miner estimated would yield fifty per cent. Advancing three leagues farther on, to the north-east [probably near Rossway], we saw another very good iron mine, near which is a river surrounded by beautiful meadows. The neighboring soil is red as blood."

Nova Scotia is rich in minerals of many kinds, and is one of the chief mining districts of the Dominion. Murdoch says (*Nova Scotia*, p. 3): "The discovery of gold, along the whole Atlantic shore of the peninsula of Nova Scotia, has taken place chiefly since I began this work in 1860; and it now gives steady remunerative employment to about 800 or 1,000 laborers, with every expectation of its expansion." In 1895, there were in this province 37 mines, yielding 22,112 ounces of gold. It is estimated that gold may be found in an area of from 5,000 to 7,000 square miles; but less than forty square miles have as yet been worked. The industry supports 3,000 to 4,000

persons. From 1862 to 1895, the total yield was 602,268 ounces, the average value of the ores during that time being $14.50 a ton.

Copper is mined to some extent. Gesner says, in *Industrial Resources of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1849), p. 289: "Thin seams of copper ore are seen in the red sandstones of Minudie. At Tatmagouche, Carriboo, and the rivers of Pictou, small deposits of the sulphuret and green carbonate of copper have been found among the strata of the coal series." An interesting statement on this subject is made in a "Memoir upon Acadia," written in 1735, by one Duvivier, a descendant of Charles de la Tour, and cited by Murdoch (*Nova Scotia*, vol. i., pp. 508–511): "In the seigneurie of Mines, which is six leagues square (and belongs to the family [of La Tour's descendants] with donations of mines, etc.), a lead mine, a considerable silver mine, an especial mine of red copper of a color like gold, and one of another metal, the value of which is not known to the Sr. Duvivier or anybody. . . . The English having obtained likewise the knowledge of a copper mine resembling gold, at a place called Beaubassin, joining to Mines, have sent thirty miners there, with an officer, according to the report of one Fougère. They have formed a company for this undertaking, in which the Governor, Lieutenant du Roi, and Major are secretly interested, to establish there a so-called copper work."

Gesner says (*ut supra*, p. 264): "Narrow veins of galena occur in the limestones of the Shubenacadie, Stewiacke, and Brookfield, and the ore sometimes contains a small percentage of silver. No profitable veins have so far been discovered."

The coal fields of Nova Scotia (including those of Cape Breton), cover about 635 square miles, and are of great richness, the veins being 30 to 70 feet deep. It has been estimated that they contain 7,000,000,000 tons of coal. The present annual output is about 2,400,000 tons.

The *Statistical Year-Book* for 1893 (p. 361) cites Sir William Fairbairn as saying: "In Nova Scotia some of the richest ores yet discovered occur in boundless abundance. The iron manufactured from them is of the very best quality, and is equal to the finest Swedish material." The ores are found through almost the entire length of the province. The product of Nova Scotia for 1895 was 79,636 tons. Gesner (*ut supra*, p. 255) says: "The most common variety of iron ore in the oldest fossiliferous strata is brown hematite. At Clements, in the county of Annapolis, and three miles from the mouth of Moose river, it outcrops, and may be traced a mile on the surface, with an average thickness of 9 feet 6 inches. It yields from 33 to 40 per cent. of cast metal, and the quality of the iron is very superior."

Granite, sandstone, limestone, marble, gypsum, salt, and other valuable materials, are found in great abundance and of excellent quality. For an account of these and other mineral products, see Gesner, already cited; also *Statistical Year-Book*, *Report of Minister of Mines*, and other Government publications.

16 (p. 71).— *Betsabes:* written also Bessabes (Champlain); the "sagamore of Kadesquit" (Biard); identical with the "Bashaba" of Gorges. The most powerful sachem in New England, ruling over many inferior sagamores in the country called Moasham (Gorges), or Mawooshen (Hakluyt), corresponding to the southern part of Maine and New Hampshire; Poor (in "Vindication of Gorges," *Popham Memorial*, p. 50) thinks his authority extended to Narragansett Bay. His residence is supposed to have been at Pemaquid, or the semi-mythical Arâmbec (see vol. i., *note* 11). Gorges says he was "killed by the Tarentines;" Lescarbot, in *Nouv. France*, p. 561, avers that he was slain by the English.— See Godfrey's "Bashaba and the Tarratines," *Maine Hist. Colls.*, vol. vii., pp. 93–102.

Asticou: Lescarbot calls this chief "sober, valiant, and feared, who could at a moment's notice, gather a thousand Savages." He says that, after the death of Bessabes, Asticou was successor to the former's authority.— *Nouv. France*, p. 561. Champlain says (Laverdière's ed., p. 862) that the basin of the Falls of Chaudière, on the Ottawa River, was called by the natives *Asticou*, meaning "a boiling kettle." Maurault (*Hist. Abenakis*, p. 95, *note* 2) says that *asticou* is an Algonkin word, meaning "caribou." He adds (p. 111), that the chief of that name was probably an Algonkin who had migrated to the Abenaki country. A post office on Mt. Desert Island is called Asticou.

17 (p. 79).— Caribou: the American woodland reindeer (*Cervus tarandus*, or *Rangifer caribou*), inhabiting the northern regions as far as the timber line. Specimens are still found in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick; it is smaller than the moose or elk. Sagard (*Canada*, p. 750) calls it "caribou, or wild ass."

18 (p. 83).— *Ponamo:* Shea (*Charlevoix*, vol. vi., p. 124) translates this "dogfish," and cites J. H. Trumbull as authority for the statement that the *ponamo* is the "tom cod" (*Morrhua pruinosa*),— the *apounanmesou* of Rale, and the *paponaumsu* of Roger Williams.

19 (p. 109).— See Garneau's statement, in *History of Canada* (Bell's ed., Montreal, 1866), vol. i., p. 132: "As soon as the young attained nubile years, they were allowed all freedom,—'thought no harm of it,' to use the words of Lescarbot. From this early and unrestrained frequentation, we may deduce one cause of the limited fecundity of the native women; as well as from their practice of

suckling their children for several years." Cf. Sagard's *Canada*, p. 324; in the same place (and on p. 342), he also describes the easy accouchements of the women.

20 (p. 119).— See vol. ii., *note* 23.

21 (p. 131).— The sagamore of St. John's river; called Secondon by Champlain; accompanied Poutrincourt on his expedition to Chouacoët, and (according to Lescarbot, who calls him Chkoudun) offered to oppose, single-handed, a hostile band of natives who attacked the French.—*Nouv. France*, p. 575.

22 (p. 133).— Cartier gives the native Canadian word for "sun" as *Ysnay* or *Isnez*.—Tross ed. of *Discovrs dv Voyage par Iaques Cartier* (Paris, 1865), vol. i., pp. 13, 69. Lescarbot says it was *achtek*.— *Nouv. France*, p. 691.

23 (p. 145).— Joseph de Acosta, born 1540, at Medina del Campo, near Valladolid, Spain, entered the Jesuit order in his fourteenth year, and devoted himself to the study of sacred and classical literature. In 1570, he sailed to the New World, with other Jesuit brethren, spending thirteen years in Peru, and nearly four in Mexico, in missionary and literary labors. In Peru, he resided partly at Lima, and partly at Juli, near Lake Titicaca, then the principal seat of the Jesuits, where a college was established, the native language studied, and a printing-press erected; here was printed, in 1611, Bertonio's Aymara dictionary. Acosta returned to Spain in 1587, and soon began the publication of his manuscripts. The most important of these is the *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Seville, 1590), two books of which were earlier published in Latin (Salamanca, 1588). This is considered by modern historians a valuable and authoritative account of the New World and of the Mexican and Peruvian nations. It was translated into Dutch, by Van Linschoten (Enckhuysen, 1598); into French, by Regnauld (Paris, 1597); into German, by De Bry (Frankfort, 1601); and into English, by Grimston (London, 1604).

Acosta was head of the Jesuits' college at Valladolid, and, later, of that at Salamanca, where he died February 15, 1600. His brother Bernardo also became a Jesuit; was a resident of the City of Mexico in 1586, dying there May 29, 1613. For a fuller account of the former's life and works, see Introduction to Hakluyt Society's translation of his *Historia natural y moral* (London, 1880).

24 (p. 149).— *Angelic Salutation:* the salutation, "Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum," with which the archangel greeted the Virgin when he announced to her that she was to become the mother of Christ.— See Lee's *Glossary of Liturg. and Eccl. Terms.*

25 (p. 151).— The apparent omission of chap. xi., arising from a typographical error, is explained in the "Bibliographical Data,"

ante. The *Factum* alluded to was a controversial pamphlet "written and published against the Jesuits." The only copy known to us is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It was reprinted in 1887, with an introduction by G. Marcel, under the title, *Factum du procés entre Jean de Biencourt et les Pères Biard et Massé, Jésuites:* pp. xix–91. The publication was anonymous, but its authorship has been ascribed by many to Lescarbot. The succeeding six chapters of the present *Relation* are devoted by Biard to answering the *Factum*.— See Rochemonteix's *Jésuites*, vol. i., pp. 81–82.

26 (p. 161).— See vol. ii., *notes* 42, 59.

27 (p. 161).— See vol. i., *note* 2.

28 (p. 165).— See vol. i., *note* 25.

29 (p. 165).— See vol. i., *notes* 31, 37.

30 (p. 169).— See vol. i., *notes* 35, 36.

31 (p. 173).— In the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenots are referred to as followers of *la religion prétendue réformée*. Upon the significance of this term, see *Atlantic Monthly* vol. lxxvi., p. 414.

32 (p. 173).— The consistory was a council or assembly composed of the ministers and elders of the Reformed churches.

33 (p. 177).— The *Contract d'association des Jésuites au Trafique du Canada*, entered into before a notary of Dieppe, January 20, 1611 (see vol. i., *note* 31). It is given in Lescarbot's *Nouv. France* (1618), p. 665; and has been reprinted by Tross (on vellum, 12 copies only, of which the Lenox and Brown libraries have each one). This contract occasioned much hostile comment against the Jesuits, whom their enemies accused of profiting by the Canadian trade.— See Champlain's *Voyages* (1632), p. 101; Faillon's *Col. Fr.*, vol. i., p. 104; Harrisse's *Notes*, pp. 35–36; and Biard's *Relation*, *post*, chap. xix.

34 (p. 181).— This is now Kara Strait, between Nóva Zembla and Siberia, connecting the Kara and Archangel Seas; and the large island at its eastern end is named Waigatz. Jenkenson's map (London, 1562), shows the island as *Vaigatz;* Sanson's (1674), *Destroit du Vaigatz;* Schenck's (1720, *ca.*) *Fret. Weygatz al. Nassovicum.* Both the strait and the island were discovered in 1594, by an expedition sent out by Count Maurice of Nassau.

35 (p. 181).— By an oversight, Biard here says that they arrived June 22, instead of May 22 (as in his former letters). Whitsunday (on which was celebrated the festival of Pentecost) fell on May 22, in 1611. A similar discrepancy occurs on pp. 235–237, *post*, where Biard says that Poutrincourt's ship left Dieppe on December 31, 1611, and arrived at Port Royal January 23, 1612, after a voyage of two months. The latter date is correct; so the departure from France was probably in November, not December.

36 (p. 199).— Probably Head Harbor, near the N.E. point of Campobello Island.

37 (p. 201).— See vol. ii., *note* 80.

38 (p. 207).— *Larvæ* or Lemures, the spirits of the dead, believed by the Romans to return to the upper world, wandering about at night as spectres, and tormenting the living.

39 (p. 209).— See vol. i., *note* 9.

40 (p. 215).— The beds used in the Carthusian monasteries seem to have been simply pallets of straw covered by skins; but the bed here mentioned, as one into which a man could be shut, is evidently of the kind still used by the peasants of Brittany — built into the wall, and closed by sliding doors, to keep out dampness.

41 (p. 221).— See vol. ii., *notes* 2, 5.

42 (p. 233).— Madame de Guercheville (see vol. i., note 33) married (February, 1594), as her second husband, Charles du Plessis, seigneur de Liancourt; but she would not use his name, because it had been borne by Gabrielle d'Estrées, a favorite of the king.

43 (p. 235).— Robert du Thet (see *Relation* of 1613-14, vol. ii., p. 233).

44 (p. 239).— See vol. ii., *note* 45.

45 (p. 249).— Now called Gaspé, and sometimes Gaspesia; the peninsula occupying the southeastern extremity of the province of Quebec, extending from the St. Lawrence to the Bay of Chaleurs and Restigouche River. Cartier, on his first voyage, landed on this coast, and took possession of the country in the name of France. From 1636 to 1685, it was governed by Nicholas Denys, Sieur de Fronsac (for whom the strait of Canso was named; see vol. i., *note* 40); for an account of him, see Murdoch's *Nova Scotia*, vol. i., pp. 124-131. For descriptive and statistical account of this region, see Langelier's *Sketch of Gaspesia* (Quebec, 1884).

Laverdière (*Champlain*, p. 68, *note* 2) cites Abbé Maurault as deriving the name Gaspé from the Abenaqui word *Katsepioui*, "that which is separated," referring to Cape Forillon (known to Cartier as Honguedo) — a remarkable mountainous headland, 700 feet high, extending into the sea between Cape Rosier and the Bay of Gaspé; it is the most eastern point in the Shickshock Mountains (described in vol. ii., *note* 40).

The Récollet, Christian Le Clercq, was a missionary in Gaspé from 1675 to 1687, and wrote an account of his work there — *Relation de la Gaspésie* (Paris, 1691). He is noted as the inventor of a system of hieroglyphics, by which he taught the Micmacs to read and write, and which those tribes still use. In 1866, a volume of catechism, hymns, prayers, etc., was printed in these characters, by the Leopold Society of Vienna, Austria.

46 (p. 259).— See vol. ii., *notes* 35, 77.

47 (p. 263).— See vol. ii., *note* 81.

48 (p. 263).— *Menauo;* probably a misprint for Menano (as it appears *post*): is now known as Grand Manan Island, a favorite summer resort.

49 (p. 265).— See vol. i., *note* 61.

50 (p. 275).— See vol. ii., *note* 85.

51 (p. 279).— *Pavesade;* a sort of screen made of canvas, extended along the side of a vessel in a naval engagement, to prevent the enemy from seeing what is done on board.


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